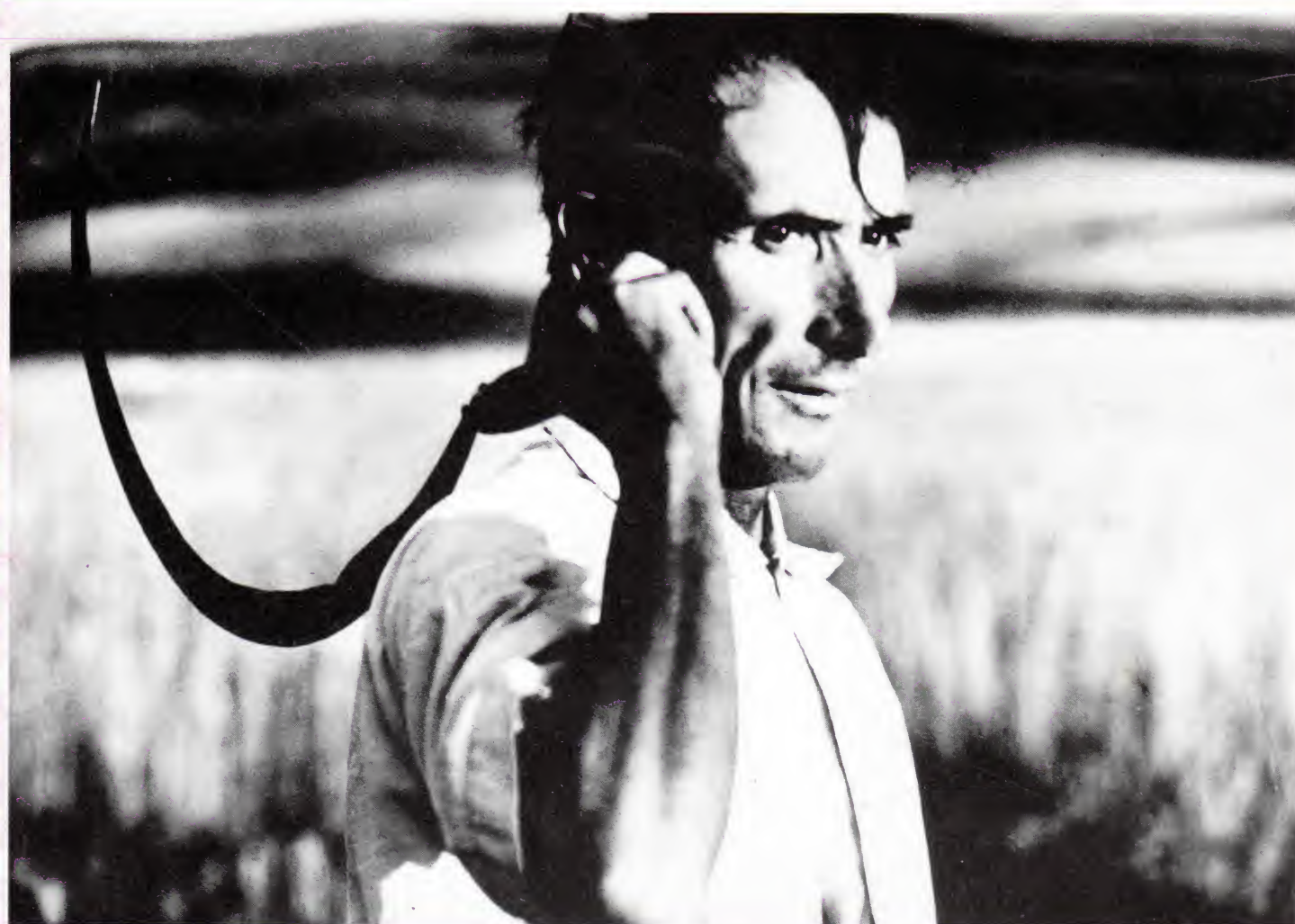


KLAS#

NUMBER 6
JUNE 92

DM	6,-
SFR	6,50
F	6,50
ÖS	35
\$	2,50 1,50
Pound	3
Pta	300
FF	18



Stichting Marinus vd Lubbe
Postbus 11149
1001 GL Amsterdam NL

But please send your letter/text in an envelope addressed to CLASH, and then put that envelope inside another one addressed to

List of Content

Editorial	3
<u>Squatting</u>	
France: Lyon, Batailles des Rues	5
Netherlands: WNC	7
England: Criminalization of squatting	12
Italy: Criminalization of "COSC"	15
<u>Antifa</u>	
England: A demonstration...	16
<u>Women's Liberation</u>	
Switzerland: Extreme Violence - Inner Colonies	18
FRG: Fear for the shiver of Freedom, from Ingrid Strobl	20
Netherlands: The women as walking womb? an answer on Ingrid Strobl's article by Pauline Harmsen	25
Kolombia: Women's Liberation and mixed sex Organization	28
USA: A voice from prison: Women with HIV + AIDS, by Linda Evans	32
AIDS Education and Lesbian Pride in Pleasanton, an interview with Linda Evans	35
<u>"500 Years"</u>	
USA/Canada: Leonard Peltier and Big Mountain: 1992	38
FRG: Unite against WEC '92	40
Spain: Resistance against EXPO '92	41
FRG: Discussionpaper "To the hearts a fire"	42
<u>FRG: armed struggle /political prisoners</u>	
Preface: For the life and the freedom of the political prisoners	53
Declaration of RAF	54
Declaration of the political prisoners, by Irmgard Möller	56
Interview with Irmgard Möller	56
<u>National reports</u>	
Turkey:	
Summary Justice in Turkey	60
"The last words", Telephone-interview with DEVRIMCI SOL Members	61
Greece:	64
Schoolchildren	65
prison revolts	67
November, 17.	68
Denmark:	72
USA:	
The Battle of Los Angeles	77
<u>Culture</u>	80
Fishcore	81
Infoshop: List of addresses	84



SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR PRISONERS

We received many questions of people in prison who want to read the CLASH. Until now we could send the papers. Soon our financial capacities will be exhausted. We are glad about every letter and question from prisoners and about new addresses and would like go on: but we just can't manage it anymore.

It would be possible to subsidize the prisoner's subscriptions by making the CLASH even more expensive. But who has enough money to afford the newspaper anymore. So shit, it doesn't work neither.

Therefore our appeal to you:

Enable the prisoner's participation at the political discussion!!!

Take care to bring this newspaper into jail!!

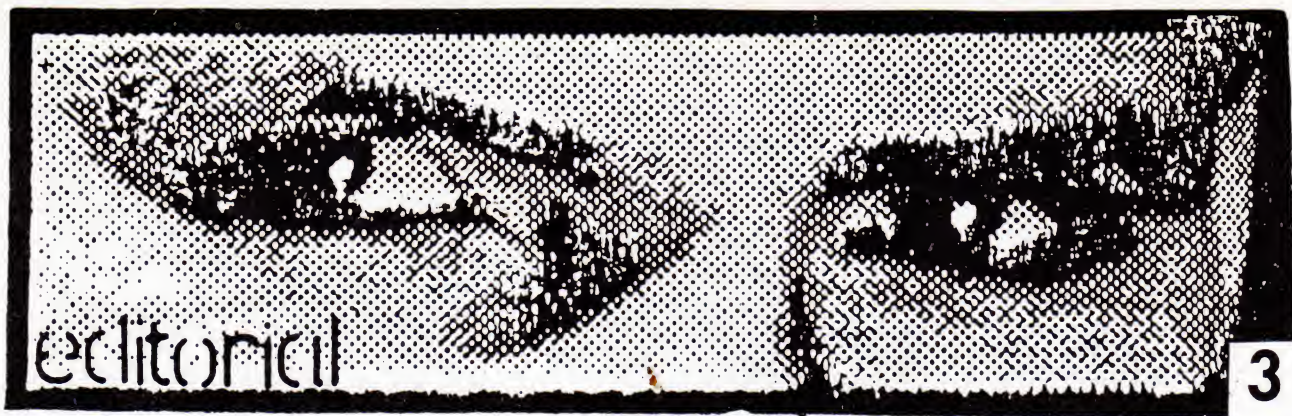
Overtake subscriptions for prisoners!:

Prisoner's subscription means: You send us 6 pounds/26 guilders/20 dollar and in return we send 4 editions to a prisoner, we pay the stamps. But without your support, we really don't know, how to continue.

- CAUTION -

PROTECTED PRIVATE PROPERTY !

This newspaper remains the property of the sender unless and/or until it has been personally and materially accepted by the prisoner to whom it is addressed. In the event that the prisoner is denied direct personal access to this newspaper, it must be returned to the sender with notice of the reason(s) for failing to deliver it to the addressee.



So, here we are again, out in the open. Not for the last time we have thought about how we can develop the project further on. Because of criticisms from the working-group of the international infoshop-meeting (a gathering of West-European infoshops, meeting regularly since 4-5 years), and based on our own thoughts we will describe some ideas and preconditions for the ongoing developments of our newspaper.

Because the history of how the project Clash started is unknown to many people, we will start with that.

Like we have written several times before, the newspaper comes out of the international infoshop meetings. The reason for grounding for the newspaper arose out of not feeling well about how the structures in those days organized the international exchange of information of info's and discussions. (concerning radical left-wing groups and people).

On one side the oppressed information was made- and spreaded-by redactions that operated wholly on their own account, on the other side very few people cared about publishing and spreading informations and discussions.

The consumer-attitude of the readers and the power of those who spreaded the information led to a too wide gap. We, readers and people of infoshops wanted an own structure, and to work together with possibly many, or in fact with all who want to join the international discussion to build up new left powers.

To reach all these people infoshops are just ONE way. But it is a public structure where people can start and/or support discussions, organisations and actions. The people who work in the infoshops and the readers could join the newspaper actively by sending in articles. The unknown but independant redaction had as its 'task' to put all the articles together. Members of many infoshops could then have influence and co-decide the redaction as well as the content of the paper. Criticisms could be discussed in the infoshops, in the working-groups and in the newspaper itself.

That was the idea with which it all started, and then 2 years of practise followed, making us a little smarter. Very concrete we have met some boundaries of an international newspaper which will have to be broken down.

Clash is published every 3-4 months, in english and german. The newspaper is mostly read by people from all parts of Europe and North-America. That means, that most of the time it is impossible to publish actionreports or leaflets, that are often regionally focussed. This counts just the same for many articles from regional newspapers. They need much more explanation and describings of the backgrounds existing in the different countries or regions. We ourselves can not write these, because we are no specialists on every issue.

Also there are quite a lot of problems with languages. Practical-translating ist harder than you think, and not everybody is a natural talent in it- as well as political. Because, when translating you start to notice, that the (political) expressions within a language are closely bound to the history of the country of which this expression comes from. And because countries have a different history, often there isn't a one-to-one translation of certain words.

A surely justified critic, pointed at us, is that the newspaper is too

much 'Germany-orientated'. This manifests itself in the fact that the newspaper deals too much with the political state of the radical left movement in Germany, looking at the recent and discussion-articles. That has partly to do with the history of the infoshop-meeting. At the beginning of the meetings, a few years ago, mainly in Germany there were many infoshops. And although the international meeting was also started in order to make an equal international discussion possible, it still is so that the German way of making politics prevails. It will be a long process to get rid of that, and a process that is only possible when the people of the Germany-influenced countries will get aware of their preconditioning, and when people with another political history also (actively) make clear their points of views and way of acting. Also in the content something has changed over the last two years, although it is not so easy to describe precisely what and in which way.

Of course the fast changing (Political etc) world situation has it's influences. On one side it is clear, that capitalism has expanded it's position, especially when looking at the exploitation of the people in the south. On the other side there are also many new initiatives from those down-below, in all parts of the world, who can now not any longer fall back upon rigid 'socialist' role-models and (have to) deal directly with their own situation and possibilities. In a period of changes like now it is even more important to keep your eyes and ears open, to work on our and other's historie(s) and to try-out new initiatives/starting-points.

Already for some time now we are also discussing about what our role as a newspaper redaction in this is/can be. It is clear, that we want more than just an international exchange of information. It is necessary, that also steps beyond this are taken, and therefore we find an international discussion very important. That has to have an influence on the articles we publish. Logically we have no rigid, to-the-end discussed list of criteria (if there could be anything like that, then surely not yet now), but some basics are clear. There exist several mechanisms of oppression (such as patriarchy, capitalism, racism, forced heterosexuality,...) and a final liberation of oppression can only work out when all these mechanisms are being seen and destroyed. That again will only be possible when it is analysed precisely in every situation, how the different mechanisms influence one-another, and not when certain mechanisms are left out of sight, or a fixed ranking of oppression-mechanisms is assumed. This way of dealing has to reflect itself in the discussions and articles.

As you have probably understood already, this also means that the redaction itself wants to play a role in the defining of the newspaper. Untill now it is so, that about 1/3 of the articles are brought in by us. That we want to continue in the future. It would be in total contradiction with the history of the newspaper, and the infoshops, to construct a newspaper, as functionaries, just out of the articles that are sent in. And also when looking at the process of the new-defining of the left powers, the active cooperation of everyone is asked, so also ours.

That does not mean that we do this completely autonomously. Our discussions are influenced by that what is sent to us, and next to that we as persons are not standing outside of the left powers...

Anyway it is very important that as many people as possible actively join the discussions in the newspaper. A practical initiative to make this possible has come from the newspaper-workinggroup on the IIM (Intern. Infoshop Meeting) in Oslo, an idea which we find very good and support strongly. The idea is, that the newspaper-workinggroup on the IIM will organise 'local Clash support groups'. This means that it will become possible for groups from different countries to join the working group directly, and thus will be able to (co)decide on the content of the newspaper. The working group will then be a greater circle of groups as it is now, so that also other organisations than the infoshops can join it.

But also when, because of different reasons (F.ex. geographic...) it is not possible to join that, we think your support is important! So, when you find the idea of the newspaper important (to independantly spread oppressed information, to create a possibility for international discussion and the opportunity to play an active part in that), then you can think about the following:

- * Talk together to find out what is or can be of importance of your experiences for people in other countries/regions, to complement their own experiences;

Of course we also have a lot of household-announcements:

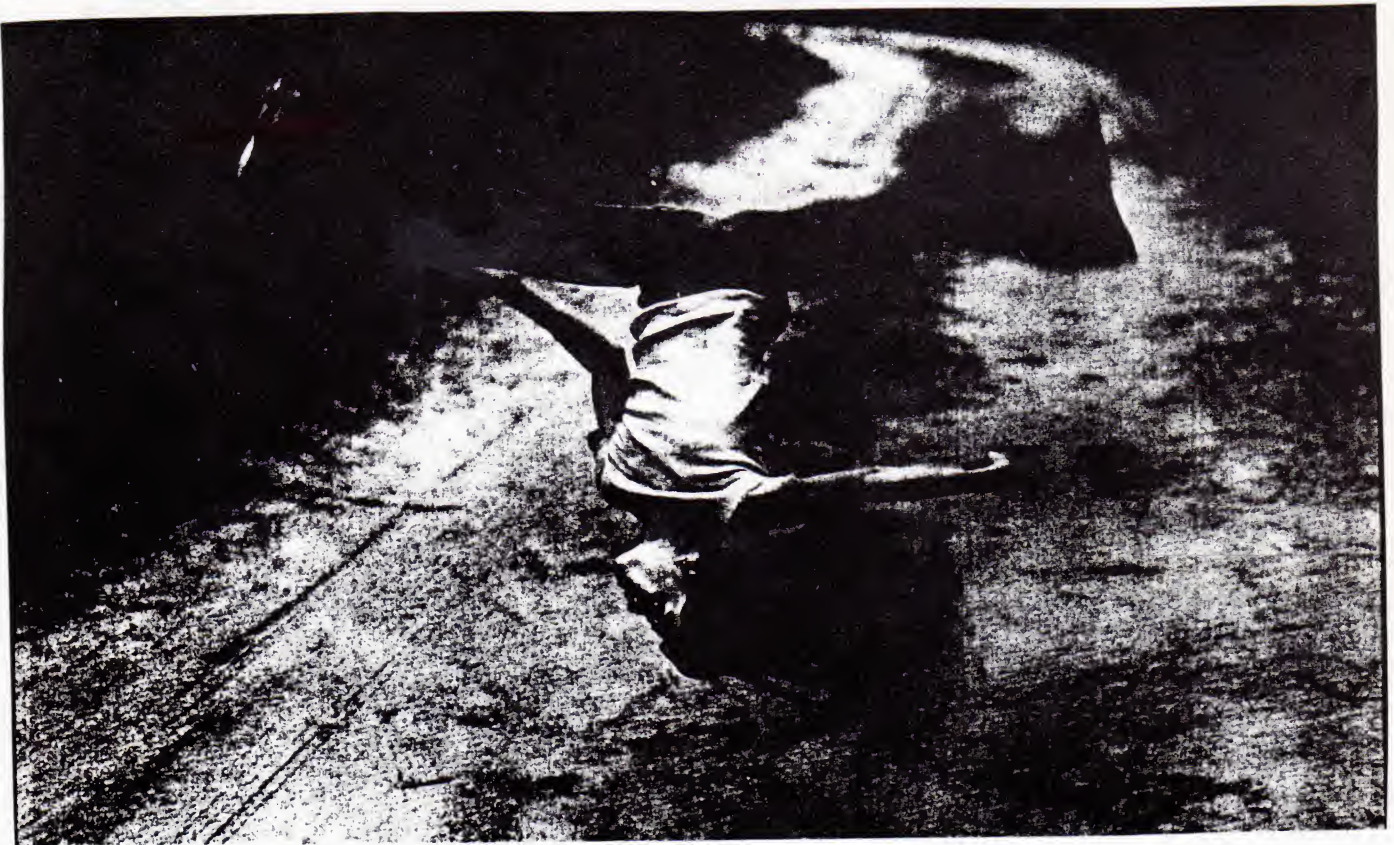
- * Firstly we of course want to thank everybody, who has worked on this issue (except for those, who do it officially...), be it by sending-in articles, spreading it around or reading it actively.

- * Especially we want to thank those people who have taken care of prison-subscriptions, we think that's great and see this as a real support of the project, we hope that (many) more people will consider to send the newspaper to their local prisoners on a continuous base, and if you do not have any (...) you could of course consider to send us the money for it, make benefits etc...

- * Already for some time now we have a new address. Please, please don't send anything anymore to our old one...

- * And sometimes you'll have to have some patience when you send us something. The post does not always work that fast. So it can happen that articles, because of lack of time, could not get in the issue, but then probably they will next time...

- * When you live in the neighbourhood of an infoshop, please try to get the newspaper through them. Individual subscriptions mean a lot of stress for us, and the newspaper should be available in every well-stocked infoshop anyway. (if not just put some pressure on them...)



- * Which connections are there (and why) with struggling people in other countries/regions, and just the same, where are they not (yet) there and can/should they be developed;

- * Also, to inform about the experiences made within the different progressive/ social/revolutionary movements that have existed, and which we have to keep. Too often already the worthfull experiences of the past are stolen by the ruling history-writings...

- * And as well to write about initiatives, that try to find new ways to bring a liberated society without racism, sexism, capitalism and other oppressions closer and are fighting for that.

In the next issue we want to make this last point, in the form of reports and evaluations of new strategies, into a main topic. That means, that we ask you especially to send in your contributions to this theme!

- * And at last, send us all you have left (also money) AND HAVE FUN READING THIS ISSUE. TILL THE NEXT...

P.S. We've got a criticism, that we had mixed somethin up and done wrong in our preface to Garry McGeoughs letter in Clash No. 4. This is unfortunately true and it's good that you have informed us about it. Dear and red greetings back to you. We don't go into the concrete mistakes because in the trial against the two Gerrys something has happened and we don't want to produce chaos again. In the meantime Gerry McGeough was deported to USA. He shall get a trial because of his supposed participation in negotiations about weapons for the Irish liberation struggle. At June. 6th, Gerry Hanratty was convicted for "Offence against the arms controll law and weapon law" to a sentence of two and a half years. In spite of his nearly 4 years of custody he stays imprisoned because the british state has demanded his deportation to the british occupied North Irland.

BATAILLES DE RUES



In France the 15th of March is an important date.

It is the last day of the winter period in which no house and no flat can be evicted. In France this public peace is fixed legal since 1954 and continues from 1st of December to 15th of March.

To call for attention to this date and to demonstrate against the evictions following it some people and groups organized a varied meeting at the 14th of March, one day before the "wintry peace" is ending.

About 250 people came to this spectacle who then decided spontaneously to make a demonstration to the town-hall to demonstrate there against the restructure and the housing policy of the city-council.

The situation escalated after two sprayers have been arrested by the cops. In newspapers eye-witnesses are telling about a dreadful brutality of the cops. The streetbattle in which the cops used up teargasgrenades, also arbitrary into flats, lasted about 5 hours. Then the 1. police-station in Croix-Rousse was attacked, 6 cops injured, 6 patrol-cars smashed and many slogans were sprayed. There have been 17 arrests.

Two days later a squatted factory, the RAP|THOU, which is in the same quarter and was a cultural center, was evicted by the cops.

The declaration of the squatters and inhabitants of Croix-Rousse:
"Saturday, 14th March"

For the evening of the 14th of March, 18.30, we had called a manifestation against evictions by force and speculation with immovables.

The demonstration started at "Place de la Croix-Rousse", went during one hour

over the hills (Croix-Rousse is a hilly quarter) and draged along the inhabitants of the quarter who revolted at the misdeeds of building societies and town-projectors. The demonstration moved forward calmly, climbed up again in direction of "Jardin des Plantes" when passing the police-station "Place Sathonay" two people at the end of the demonstration were arrested by civil-cops, attacked with sticks and then brought to the police-station.

Because the demonstrators revolted at the brutality of this provocation they returned to "Place Sathonay" to demand the release of the arrested people.

At once and without announcement the cops attacked the square with a flood of teargasgrenades. So the demonstration came together again at "Place de la Croix-Paquet" to hold a plenary assembly. After an hour of discussion the assembly decided to send a peaceful delegation to the 1. police-station.

Thereupon the police invaded the square with use of unjustified violence. Beaten by sticks a part of the assembly fled into the RAP|THOU while the other part was massacred by the cops within a teargasfog which reached up to the 3. floor. The cops beat demonstrators and inhabitants without difference.

The RAP|THOU stood several policeattacks by which some people were injured, partly hard. The tenants at their windows also became targets of gasgrenades.

Face to this outbreak of violence the defense of the quarter began spontaneously. Not to provoke but to refuse the forced state of distress.

It is to remark that many damages to property which were highlighted by the press (which make herself the loyal speaking-tube of the police headquarters) were caused by the

LYON 7^{er} CROIX-ROUSSE LES SQUATTERS OCCUPAIENT LE PAVÉ

so-called forces of order themselves. Many inhabitants have agreed to bear witness to the violence acts of the police.

Monday, 16th March, 6 o'clock

At this morning at 6 o'clock, the police with a big personnel expense carried out the eviction of the factory (RAP'THOU) and squatted flats in "Rue de Thou". They came armed and disguised over the roofs and in this way evicted those who stayed in the building: about 30 people have been arrested (...).

This eviction, carried out without a previous judgment, is illegal.

Do we have to think that the police headquarters who conspires together with the mayor escalated the demonstration of Saturday with their provocation to find with this a marvelous legitimization to wipe out of the quarter the RAP'THOU?

We call up to a plenary assembly at Monday 16th March, 18.00, at "Place Chardonnet" to demand the release of the 40 people, among them 3 minors.

At time the 1. police station is choosing very sharp the testimonies: it is refusing the complaints about police-

violence and takes only those who concern the material damages which are pretendedly caused by demonstrators."

CROIX-ROUSSE

The evicted factory, the RAP'THOU, is in the same quarter in which the manifestation took place. A quarter with many squatted flats, some squatted houses and some equipments of the "scene": an info-shop, a printing-office, a disk-shop, ... Croix-Rousse is a historical quarter in which once the silk workers ("les ca-

mutés") lived and fought. Today it is still a populist quarter but is invaded more and more by restructure and tourism. Croix-Rousse has a strong squatting-movement who is anchored in the quarter.

THE RAP'THOU

The RAP'THOU is an old factory which was squatted in February 1991. In the beginning some people lived there but afterwards it was used mostly as bar, concert- and meeting room.

The RAP'THOU was understood as a self-ruled space without head and chief. For fascists entrance was forbidden. The people there had the pretension to be anti-sexistic and anti-fascist. Besides they wished to be ever something other than sellers and visitors something other than consumers.

quotation out of the self-representation:

"So the RAP'THOU is no place like the others. For us it is a paving-stone against the state and the authority, it is also a way to build up a more just society. Face to this disgusting world, their wars, their money; their cops and their control of the population, it

is more than urgent to react with our own means. Together! "

SATURDAY March 21st:

2pm rally and general assembly Place Cardonnet which leads to a mass requisition (250 people) of an empty factory, 3 rue Magneval: general assembly, meal, gig.

SUNDAY March 22nd:

in Magneval, general assembly at the end of which the first self managed activities are set up (school tutons, activities with the children of the area, popular restaurant, a pub). The following days contacts are made with other people and community groups in the area; in Magneval the activities get organized and diversify. A block of flats is squatted rue Bon Pasteur. Police exercises tight control.

FRIDAY April the 3rd:

in the early morning evictions rue Margneval rue Bon Pasteur and a flat rue de Thou. 29 people arrested and released during the day.

18.30 rally Place Chardonnet.

SATURDAY April the 4th:

18.00 a rally with a kitchen soup, is violently attacked by about 50 cops. The area is still under a tight control, with attempts to criminalize us.

THURSDAY April the 9th:

18.00 official unveiling ceremony of the "Cesar", a luxury building. A rally (called by several community groups and squatters) is attacked by the police; several people are injured, 5 people are arrested. 2 people are charged; trial on May the 14th.

WEDNESDAY April the 15th:

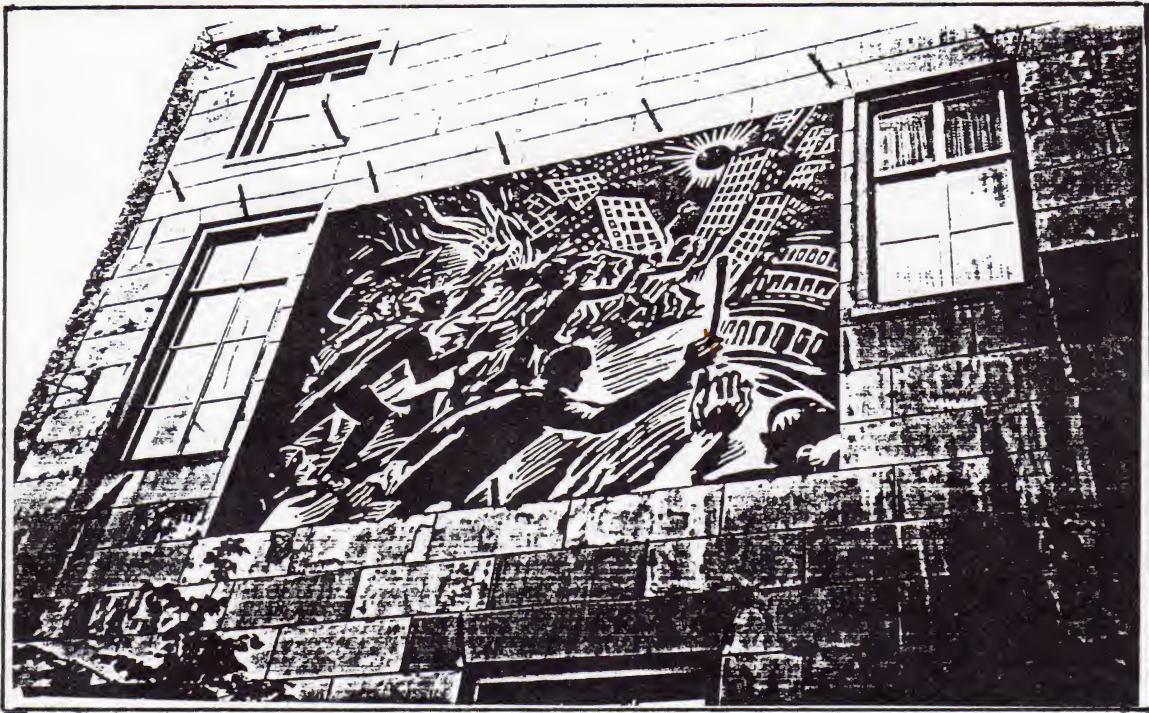
rally Place Sathonay against the repression and the police violences. The local city-hall is invaded. The mayor invites the squatters to come up and voice their wishes on Thursday the 16th.

To be continued...

NOUS NE LAISSERONS PAS LES VILLES AUX MAINS DES SPÉCULATEURS

6 OCCUPATION - RÉAPPROPRIATION DES ESPACES VIDES

WNC



This is an article that tells the story of a big squat in the centre of Groningen, a city in the north of the Netherlands. A story that didn't start at the moment the house was squatted but that has its roots in the radical left-wing movement of the seventies and the eighties. And deeper.

The WNC, (Wolters Noordhoff Complex, the name of a printing office that used the building before it was squatted) was a complex of about 30 squatted houses. The first of them were squatted in november '85, the rest followed in the years after. There was living space for approximately 40 people and there were work-shops and other places for activities.*

One of the reasons to squat the WNC was that at that time in Groningen there were hardly any active political groups who were fighting the establishment. And it was an attempt to bring new live into the squattersmovement. So to the group of people who squatted the WNC not only a place to live was important, but also the municipal sell-out of the city to the guys with the money; the project-developers.**

The WNC got squatted (also) to take action against this practices of speculation and to realize a 'self-determined' way of living and working. For the latter the beautiful chaos of a lot of different houses seemed perfectly right....

When the WNC was squatted a little while (in the mean time confronted with a gang of strong boys send by the owner the PGGM; a major pension-fund) the first fierce cold was sustained. Living- and working places were built-up. The houses were completely demolished and the reconstruction didn't finish ever, Rome wasn't rebuild in one week either.

One of the first groups who started up an activity was the day-cafe,

'het gebrek', who besides running this cafe also organized information-evenings. A consert-hall and a night-bar were opened as well. The people who worked there organized conserts and benefits which attracted thousands of people. Also a women-cafe, a workshop, studio's, and an infoshop came into existance.

Not everyone had the same motivation for wanting to live in the WNC. For some people it was important to live together with a lot of other people, to be able to live in a nice and constructive way. This idea had to do with a way of living, to be able to retract onesel-

ve in a big house, as an alternative for a grim world. On the other hand it could be that people looked for a place where it was possible to work together, to develop oneself and ones politics. This was an expression of the idea that a project with such a squat was not an aim on itself. These people didn't want the house to be just a shelter from the outside world. In stead of this they wanted to look for opportunities and possibilities of changing the ideas of the inhabitants of the city, as well as the people with whom they lived. One way or another, on a short or a long term they wanted to create radical social changes.

Differences in what people wanted and in their life-style were sometimes inspiring, sometimes tiring. Before the house had been squatted, too little attention was given to the point of how different lifestyles and political viewpoints could get along in day-to-day life. It appeared that having equal political viewpoints did not guarantee mutual support. In time there came a division between the people, which expressed itself in terms of f.e. the 'politics'

against 'no-nonsense' people. Nevertheless, daily practice was also inspiring because many people were enabled to come and live and/or work in the house.

The corresponding items in the political viewpoints were:

- * decisions are made under consensus.
- * authoritarian leadership is not acceptable, neither is macho behaviour
- * making politics cannot be seen apart from personal actions in daily life.

One of the agreements made by the people who lived and worked in the house was that there would be no negotiations with local authorities what so ever. Not concerning an eviction, not concerning replacement into other houses. The preceding years had shown that for instance 'legalisation of a house' had quite often led to a 'legalisation of thinking' as well. People who were politically active withdrew. They made an individualistic choice to live quiet and easy at their own place.

On the other hand these legalisations led to reformism. On the whole there was a movement in the society towards political right-wing policies. This was also expressed in the political course of some parliamentary groups (the 'greens' and the 'communists'). In earlier days they were proud of their anti-capitalistic and non-parliamentary contacts, but they aimed more and more for changes within the narrow margins of established politics. By doing so they became even more responsible for the sell-out and execution of the present day policy. All in all this developments strengthened disillusioned feelings. People began to dislike each other because of the narrow mindedness of a world that didn't seem to offer much perspective in alternative ways of getting along with each other and of changing the existing power relations.

Not just in the squattersmovement but in the entire community it became clear to see that progressive groups with social(ist) ideas were losing their strength. In the meantime social democrats grew more and more towards liberal-capitalism. And the parties of the right-wing tightened their grip and gained more strength.

The WNC was just like other radical left-wing groups, part and product of an era in which the temporary malaise of the left-wing movement (in western europe) became clearer. From this point of view the WNC was no more then just one of the many places where people could live and work together in a relatively easy way. A place that could exist due to the grace of a liberal policy, which was slowly replacing its boundaries towards the political right. This was not without consequences for the WNC's position. Also the press was a factor of importance.

One of the local newspapers started up a smear-campaign against the WNC. They started it with an article titled "citizens sick and tired of the WNC". It proclaimed that the inhabitants of the WNC were filled with joy when passers-by drove through broken glass, ending-up with flat tires. O.K., some inhabitants or visitors were not

handling according to certain standards. This behaviour occurred out of suspicion or just stupidity. However, the articles in the newspapers told more about the ideas of the papers than about the ideas or handlings of the people of the WNC. Therefore the policy of the WNC was not to be on speaking terms with these newspapers, not to be in discussion with them either. This pressboycot had several disadvantages because of the powerful influence of the media. The WNC showed their idea in their own ways, for instance by spreading pamphlets, or by using their own radiostation 'the black heaven'. Some 'neutral' media organizations counterweighted the smearcampaign.

Starting early in the eighties, the criminalization of the squattersmovement became evident. The state government had also succeeded in scaring off people by increasing repression. Their tactics of 'repressive-tolerance' was partly answered with heavier confrontations by a diminishing group of people. At the other hand, no clear goals and perspectives were developed, so lots of people couldn't recognize themselves in political ideas anymore and lost their affinity. No structural forms of organization were build-up in which radical view-



points were going along together with structural coöperations. f.e. The struggle for housing shortages was easily marginalized into an image of a group of desperado's whom resisted against society in an 'unrealistic' way.

The way people were getting along with each other neither was very 'alternative'. Similar norms, values and power-relations as in the general society also found their expression in a little different way in the squattersmovement. This gave f.e. reason to the fact that women didn't feel like putting their energy in 'improving' the men. It was better to put energy in own ways of living and working than to just spoil it. Daily sexism was also a fact in the squattersmovement. Men

didn't react when their mates glorified violence or didn't feel responsible for their own behaviour. Or they immediately stroke a defensive attitude, they felt attacked, when they got criticized, or didn't even want to think about it. Despite of these extreme examples one can say that these occurrences of sexism and patriarchal attitudes took place less often in the WNC than in the 'normal' society.

This surely had to do with the fact that there were a few radical women groups in Groningen who manifested themselves in an explicit way. Partly because of their activities a few times male groups were set up. In the WNC they never existed for a long period of time. Not the willingness lacked, but the

inspiration and clearness of how to develop an anti-sexistic (and anti-patriarchal) praxis. This meant there never was a solid base for such groups. What did men have to win with it for themselves? Mostly this groups started as a result of a certain sexist event. There wasn't enough base to create something viable.

About a year before the 26 of may 1990 it became clear the eviction was unavoidably in sight. In this year some important events took place. A big 'shell out of south afrika' benefit was organized. Salmonella, the eating-cafe attracted more consumers (about a hundred a day) as ever before. A demonstration was held in which more than

Notes:

* The WNC had been bought by the PGGM, a major pension-fund, in order to make big profit by speculation and city-marketing. And the PGGM had her mates in the town hall where the authorities didn't want to stay behind in 'the speed of nations' and thus wanted to realize big prestigious building projects. In order to do so they wanted to rise a colossal construction in the centre of Groningen, that had to serve as a library and an office. In Groningen, where they planned a prestigious city-hart, a dream for only few, a building like the WNC didn't fit in. And even less the people who lived and worked there. People who wanted to live and work collectively, who, next to living in a nice way, wanted to develop, propagate and fight for radical left-wing policies. It was there, it was looked upon as dangerous and therefore it had to go.

** Clear examples of city-marketing and speculation are the 'prefecten-hof' (new townhall), the 'Emmasingel' (beautiful old architecture that has to be demolished for new offices), two huge PTT buildings, the 'gasunie' (municipal

gas service) which is allowed to destroy a part of the city-park in exchange for sponsoring the museum-island (another prestige object), etc. This and many more had and has to be swallowed by the inhabitants of Groningen. The justification for it is the creation of a good investments-climate to attract enterprises and concerns. It was told that the prosperity of the people would keep in line with the arrival of substantial investors. Well, forget it! A big part out of the councils' purse vanishes, with the help of the public-private-cooperation, into the purses of the companies. As a result there has to be economized on f.e. the public library and the social welfare. The problems (f.e. dismissals at the library) caused by this economics can nicely be hidden behind facades of the new prestigious buildings.

Another form of speculation finds its expression in the use of 'squat-watchers'; people who are allowed to live in empty houses and buildings temporarily, but have to move out at the moment the owner wants them to. In this way the houses can't be squated (easily) anymore.

In this way the city-council and the house-owners kill several birds with one stone.

- the squatting of empty houses is prevented
- people looking for a place to live are played off against each other.
- in this way houses are slowly falling apart because the owners don't keep them in repair. After this they are in such a bad condition that they just have to be demolished to make way for more profitable projects, like offices or juppie-appartements.
- young people begin to get used to the trend of 'flexible living', living somewhere temporarily without having any rights. The system of legal guaranties (a.o. against eviction from a rented house) is tore down deliberately.
- a problem like the standing empty of a lot of houses and on the other hand the housing shortages seem to be solved in this way, while on the other hand hundreds of houses are guarded by only few, only to secure the above mentioned reasons for the owners.

300 people showed their solidarity with the WNC under the parol; 'against the demolition of the WNC, for a self-determined live!'

But what also happened was that an inhabitant and a friend lost his live. The people of the WNC have always believed he committed suicide, but because of the never fully clarified circumstances, the press and the public prosecutor knew how to use it on their own behalf. To the people in the WNC it never gave reason for mutual distrust. They gave coöperation to the police inquiries and knew how to deal with the cops in making reasonable compromises. But at the same time they were emotionally at their wit's end, cause there was no time to think and to rethink the things that had happened.

After the eviction some of the arrested people (of whom some didn't even know him) were confronted with intimidating questions and sickening pictures concerning his death.

All the time the preparations for the eviction were going on. A clear political choice was made not to lay the attention of the resistance against the eviction just in and around the WNC. Actions had to take place in the whole city. And city-'renewal' projects and speculation-objects had to be attacked. This strategy was chosen to make clear that it wasn't just because of anger about an unavoidable eviction, but that it had to do with the whole political stand of the WNC. Ofcourse the WNC was important, but a confrontation had to be in 'the political line' which the WNC had always tried to show during it's existence. This political line also included 'no compromises', no deals with an owner or a city-council. So it was quite logical a confrontation was going to take place at the moment of the eviction. The question was how to make clear for what the WNC fought. And against who and what. How to make clear that a perspective can be developed out of confronta-

tion-politics and resistance?

In the end not so much has succeeded of these nice plans. Because of lacking of energy and 'personal resources' concerning the eviction, the attention was fully laid in the direct surroundings of the WNC. Also some stupidities during the action, like the destruction of a juppy-bar, contributed to the effect that the action wasn't easily understood by many people. But if it hadn't been for the demolition of some bar, other sticks would have been found to hit the dog. A clear example of the scrupulous way in which they kept certain political parts of the action out of the press, is that not one word was mentioned to the fact that a town-council buro was totally destroyed.

After the eviction 137 persons were arrested and transported to cells all over Holland. One prison was even put into use for a second time. To Dutch proportions this long detention under remand of 6 to 8 weeks (the largest trial since the second world war) startled many



people. Many citizens began to doubt the intentions of the mayor of Groningen and the public prosecutor. A lot of people started to get active in trying to raise pressure to free the prisoners. In Utrecht about 500 people held a demonstration, as well as in Minneapolis (USA)! And the 'nice parent front' was founded. People mostly became active for humanitarian reasons, not so much because of political reasons. But these and many more efforts also made live in prison much more bearable.

By means of interrogating the prisoners, justice tried to construct a criminal organisation which

had prepared; the "oiled fighting machinerie". They failed to do so, mostly because of their own clumsiness and hysterical way of reacting. They couldn't create enough juridical base to convict most of the people. There were quite a lot of people who gave statements to the police (mostly out of stupidity, some out of ignorance). Therefore 8 people could be sentenced. 7 Persons were sentenced cause of their own statements, 1 cause of statements made by other people. All in all nothing remained upright of their leadersconstruction. So what this concerns they went flat on their mouths.

After the eviction and the processes there have been many attempts to create new facilities for living and working. Now at the time there are many more smaller squats. So people live in smaller communities and because of this it is more easy to give direction to ones personal wants, believes and ways of working. What has remained of the WNC-period are some solid friendships and the will and motivation to continue the struggle. We'll let you know!

'This article was written by some people who were involved and lived in the WNC.'

"Front de la guerre revolutionnaire"

From France the first issue of a new newspaper was send to us. The name is "Front de la guerre revolutionnaire", appearance irregular, and is written in french.

address: "Front", B. P. 13 P 42, 93270 Sevrans

Table of contents:

some remarks to the newspaper FRONT

red line

the counter - revolutionary policy, integrated by EEC

1.) about the front of resistance and fights against civil justice and the prison

- Interviews of the prisoners out of Action Directe

- about the project of the 4th book of the new penal law

- about the communities of fight in the prisons
- in Cologne (FRG), occupation of the Renault - representation

- in Toulouse, an antifascist leaflet
- in Zürich (CH), a demonstration

2.) Collective of communist prisoners, Wotta Sitta

- a talk about european

integration and counter - revolutionary policy

- War against the "international terrorism" and preventive counter revolution

- Declarations, red in front of the Cour d' Appel of Paris, on 20.9.90 and 15.5.91

- Declaration of Simonetta Giorgieri in Gênes

5.) About the paragraphs 129 and 129a in FRG

- the term of "public enemy" and the freedom of political expression
- Declaration of a militant of the resistance

6.) About the situation in Greece

7.) "Civil war and proletarian legality"

Counterinformation and Discussion

Action against Rohwedder: Declaration of the RAF; of an action in Berlin; declarations of solidarity of imprisoned militants in Paris and Italy. Anti-imperialist Front: from Chile, Frente Patriotico Manuel Rodriguez; from Euskadi, Iraultza; from USA, who is Mumia Abu-Jamal, a letter from Mumia.

3.) Schengen, the european laboratory
- Declaration of an anti-fascist group of Frankfurt (FRG)

4.) Militants of B.R.-P.C.C., imprisoned in Paris



THE CRIMINALISATION OF SQUATTING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The time is 3.31 pm. The place is parliament. The person is Kenneth Baker, Home Secretary of the United Kingdom. He stands up to address the assembled M.P.s. Reading from "SQUATTING - A Home Office Consultation Paper", he announces: "There are no valid arguments in defence of squatting. It represents the seizure of another's property without consent".

This ideological position begins the Government's proposal to criminalise squatting.

The "Consultation" process will last until March 31st 1992, by which time Local Authorities, property speculators, building societies, etc. will submit their proposals to seek to change the present laws that cover squatting. Any organisation that seeks to argue squatting's case will find short shrift as page one of the document states:

"This paper is not concerned with spurious arguments claiming to justify squatting".

Squatters themselves might find it hard to recognise the picture painted of them in the document. The usual myths are endlessly repeated. Squatters moving in to your house while you are at the shops. Squatters are anti-social, bad neighbours....criminals....drug takers....free loaders.

"Squatters are generally there by their own choice, moved by no more than self-gratification or an unreadiness to respect other people's rights."

The document itself has nothing to say about homelessness or where the estimated 50,000 squatters in England would find homes if squatting was criminalised.

The proposals to change the laws swing from an old-fashioned Tory M.P.s vision that every Englishman's

home is his castle to more insidious ideological conservative positions on property. The rise in the practice of 'shop-squatting' where people open up empty commercial premises to hawk 'bargain' goods from, has been a factor in bringing about this review of the squatting laws. Such 'shop-squatting' upsets major retailers and Tory M.P.s due to these new entrepreneurs "incurring none of the usual overheads". Indeed "Honest traders nearby will suffer from unfair competition".

— THE OPTIONS —

The Home Secretary offers four options for a change in the law.

1. Leave the Criminal Law unchanged and use Civil Law as it stands today.
2. Extend the Criminal Law to cover other categories of squatting. eg. make it an offence to squat a property that is for sale.
3. Extend the law to cover all cases of squatting in residential premises - holiday homes, private accommodation etc.
4. Extend Criminal Law to cover unlawful occupation of any property.

The last option comes with the statement that this is not an "apt response given the likely disorder and conflict which its effective enforcement would involve".

Perhaps memories of recent violent anti-Poll Tax demonstrations are behind this little sentence.

— THE OPPOSITION III —

On the opposite side of the House of Commons, Shadow Home Secretary, Ray Hattersley speaks:

"The Opposition share the view that action is necessary to reduce and virtually eliminate squatting".

That the Labour Party has no

sympathy for those who squat comes as no surprise. This is the party that introduced the anti-squatting Criminal Law Act in 1977.

With a General Election in the near future, the current squeaky-clean Labour Party is unrecognisable from the 1977 model. Despite the big (and fashionable) issue of homelessness, they wouldn't dare support squatters, it might upset some voters.

— HYSTERIA —

The next day, the Press covers the Parliamentary debate.

The Standard front page headline: "Now squatters will face jail". The Daily Mail headline declares "squatters face prison". The article states that "The occupation of empty properties, currently a civil matter, will be made a crime". Both papers report the debate as if the laws on squatting had been changed then and there. The Standard piece adds finally that it's "a vote winner for the Tories".

Right through December, there is whole series of articles in the Right-wing papers concerning squatting. The Daily Telegraph tells us "gang demands 1,000 pounds to leave family home", telling the story of a organised gangs in the Isle Of Wight

"demanding money to leave homes they have 'squatted'".

The next paragraph reports "details of two incidents have been given to the P.M.". The article ends up detailing the proposed changes in the law. The Daily Mail gives over a whole page to say "why Baker's news moves against squatting are long overdue".



The article is full of the same squatting myths: "...squatters move into your home while you are away", "many squat not out of need but because they think it is fun", "many of whom are middle class and have good jobs". The relationship between homelessness and squatting is carefully avoided.

The Standard gives its readers value in December by having two anti-squatting, pro-Baker stories. "A suburban nightmare" tells us squatting "is the ultimate nightmare, dreaded by every homeowner in London and at the moment as the law stands it could happen to anyone, anywhere".

The other story "The day squatters invaded our home" is from the same mould. Despite their apparent

Why is the Daily Telegraph's displaced family on the Isle Of Wight paying "2,000 pounds on legal fees" to try to evict the 'squatters' when a D.R.O. could have been served. This calls into question the advice of his lawyers.

The press has misrepresented squatting and promoted the Government line on criminalisation as part of ongoing ideological battle fought on behalf of the bosses. They don't think of squatting as a homeless issue. They see it as an attack on the right of the boss class to control a market. The market is the housing one. Disguised as an issue affecting the public good ("squatters are anti-social"), the reality of criminalisation is that squatting affects Capitalist property relations.

block in the City of London to highlight the amount of empty office space in London. The building is owned by Prudential, a company currently making mortgage defaulters homeless by repossessing their homes.

— SQUATTING IN LONDON —

In London, there has been, over the last year, a massive increase in evictions of squats. The local Councils have been copying each other as they practice successful tactics against squatters.

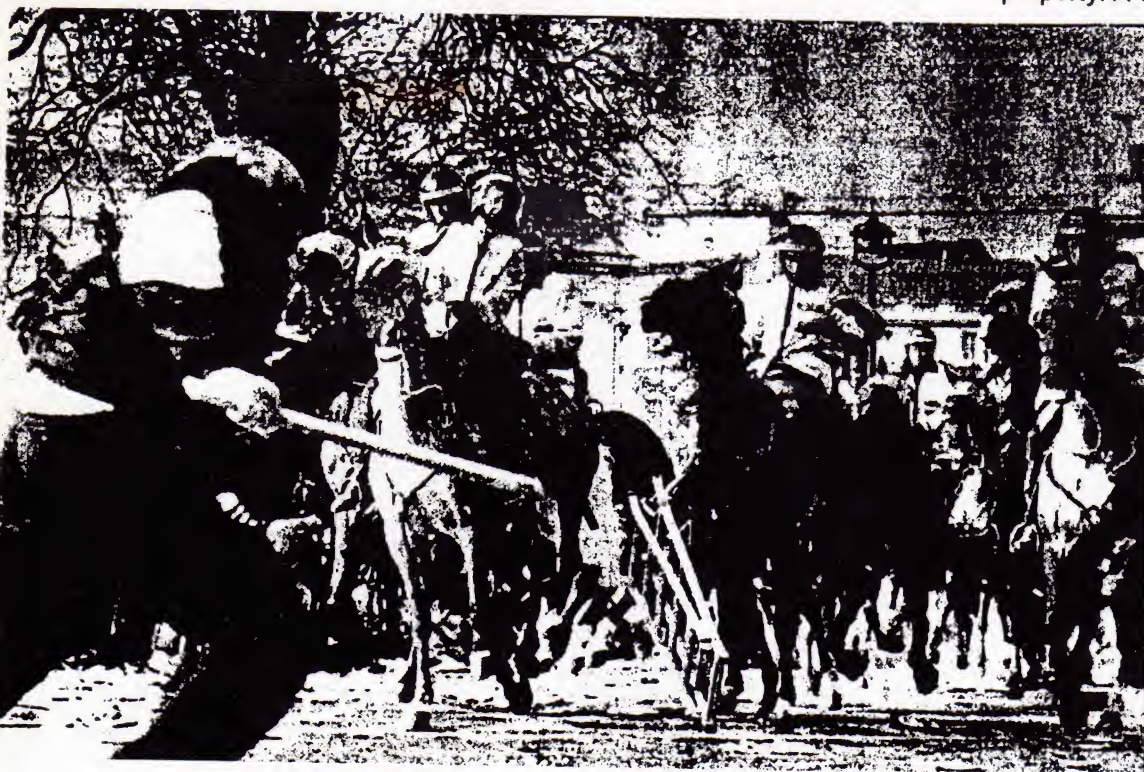
The councils are resorting to P.I.O. evictions more and more. A P.I.O. is a PROTECTED OFFENDING OCCUPIER certificate which means that a squatter is the last obstacle in the way of a tenant moving into a property. A Council can get a P.I.O.

together very quickly and it usually gives the squatter 48 hours to move out. Remaining in the property after this point is an arrestable offence.

There is widespread abuse of P.I.O.'s. For example, the named tenant on the PIO certificate may not exist or the paperwork may be incorrectly validated. In the South-wark area, the local squatting group has numerous examples of flats being evicted with PIO's (i.e. supposedly with a tenant ready to move in) and these flats

remaining empty for months afterwards. In many cases, the flats evicted are in no fit state for Council tenants to be moved into. There may be no heating or hot water or just generally in desrepair. The council play off one set of homeless people (the tenants) against another set (the squatters). In Southwark, those from the Council Housing waiting list only get one offer of a flat and so many are forced into accepted a de-squat flat.

Right now there is very little a squatter can do to stop a PIO. The local groups are working on legal defences



knowledge of the law, there is one important fact that they fail to report. Squatting is already subject to criminal law. It effectively makes illegal the very practice that they allege squatters engage in, i.e. moving into your home while you are out.

Section 7 of the Criminal Law Act 1977 created the DISPLACED RESIDENTIAL OCCUPIER (D.R.O.). Anyone whose present home is squatted can serve this paperwork on the occupiers and if they do not leave they are liable to arrest and charges under this offence.

— S.Q.U.A.S.H. —

Within a month of the "Consultation" paper being published, a campaign against criminalisation was established by a number of local squatting organisations and individuals. S.Q.U.A.S.H. (Squatters Action For Secure Homes) is working on getting replies to the "Consultation" paper together. They have also mailed out a very informative Press Briefing Pack concerning homelessness and the reality of squatting to over 500 media contacts.

On 5th February, activists from SQUASH occupied an empty office

against PIO's but in one district of Southwark, PIO's have given way to the nastier Repo (repossession). A squatter is protected under Section 6 of the Criminal Law Act from people who seek to break in and evict them by force. This law is only workable if somebody is in the flat 24 hours a day. In reality, with squatted Council property there is little threat from forcible eviction so most people come and go as normal. Southwark council has pioneered the use of Repo's whilst squatters have left their flats. The last Repo was at 10 o'clock at night. The local housing bureaucrats have taken to carrying hammers around with them and turning up at all times of the day to catch squatters when they are out. In this way, they have reduced the squatting population on Friary Estate from 80 squats to 14. What is worrying is that this successful de-squatting tactic becomes universal in all of Southwark's Housing districts, or worse, all over London.

— SQUATTERS ORGANISE —

Since the threat of criminalisation has appeared, local squatting organisations have become more active. In North London, there are squat groups in Hackney and Camden. Hackney Housing Action has been set-up to fight back against rent rises, bad conditions and changes in the law in squatting. They had a 100-strong march through Hackney on 21st December. Camden has two groups. One weekly meeting, the other produces a newsletter, maintains a list of empty flats and is active against criminalisation. In South London, there are groups in Southwark, Brixton and Lewisham. Lambeth Housing Action has been established to fight new squat laws and has its own newsletter. Lewisham Squatters are a new group who came together to fight the local Council's anti-squatting poster

campaign. The Council had used a bright pink poster to announce "Squatters don't pay.....homeless families do!". Of course, the fact that many squatters are homeless families was ignored and all this in a council area that has less than 60 squats.

Southwark's squatting group has established H.O.P. (Homeless Occu-pier's Project) to try to work with advice groups and solicitors on legal defences against PIO's and against criminalisation.

Outside of London there are regional groups in Oxford, Bristol, Brighton, Swindon, Liverpool and Leeds. Compared to 30,000 squatters in London, the numbers squatting in these towns are fairly small.

— HARD TIMES —

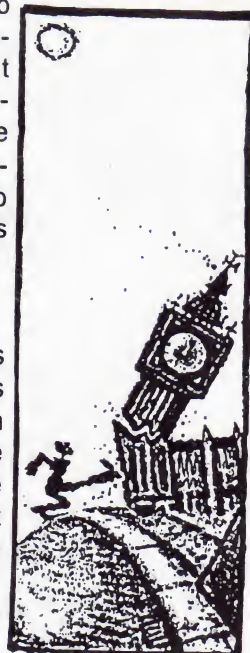
There has been much talk of 1992 and a Euro-wide clampdown on squatting. There exists in the last few years a number of strategies and events that could bear witness to this. Many London Councils have announced their intentions to tackle the number of squatted properties they own. Last year, Hackney, Lambeth and Southwark dramatically reduced the number of squats in their areas. Right now, many local Councils (eg. Brent, Greenwich, Hackney, Southwark) are investigating the flats and homes they own to check for unauthorised occupants. This will mean a further decrease in the number of squats and sub-tenants. Over the last ten years, Council properties have become the only available accommodation for thousands. The selling of keys to Council flats by corrupt Council officials or by tenants, the

sub-letting of flats by tenants or just squatting of empty flats is the only way many people can have their own place. Such was the large scale that such D.I.Y. housing operated, it seemed that nothing could ever be done about it. It looks like those days may come to an end. The criminalisation of squatting would make the Councils task of imposing control back over its housing stock very easy indeed.

In August '91, the police attack and illegally evict a gig at 'The Hellhouse', a squatted factory. Many people are injured and many arrested. Two weeks later, the cops attack again at a gig at 'The Midland Bank', a squatted ex-bank. Many people are badly beaten and some arrested.

Februray 1st 1992, 200 police in a major operation attack a gig at 'The Bank' in the East End of London. This is another squatted space. They arrest 50 and charge 22 with Public Order Act offences. Most people get a Violent Disorder charge which carries a prison sentence of up to 5 years. 'The Bank' was illegally evicted then and there by the cops. This was not simply an attempt to close down a party. It was deliberate violent attack on a squatting community. All of these places were part of loose Anarchist related squat 'scene' (for want of a better word). Are the cops pre-empting a change in the law? I'm tempted to think that they are just thick shits who hate squatters because they don't conform to the copper's narrow image of what a respectable person is. To the cops, squatters are 'slags'.

One thing is apparent, the cops have not forgotten the Trafalgar Square Poll Tax riot where these 'slags' fought and beat the police into the ground. London, 7th Feb. 1992





PS:

On 8th January, two months away from the end of the "Consultation" period, the Home Office had received 45 submissions "mostly for change" in the law.

On 14th January a nationwide clamp-down on "shop-squatting" was launched by the police and Customs And Excise. The *Standard* reported that "more than 100 officers moved in after an operation lasting 6 months concerning possible VAT (a tax) fraud". Premises were raided in Bath, Crawley, Brighton, Southampton, Watford, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and London.

For up-to-date information concerning Squatting and Criminalisation, write to:

56 a Info-Shop, 56 Crampton Street, London, SE 17, U.K.

Some local U.K. squatting contacts are:

- S.Q.U.A.S.H., 2 St Pauls Rd. London, N 1 (Phone 071-359-8814)
- Southwark Homeless Information Project, 612 Old Kent Road, London, SE 15
- Lambeth Housing Action, c/o 121 Railton Road, London, SE 24
- Bristol Housing Action Movement, 160 Gloucester Rd., Bristol BS 7

Bologna

Italy

At June, 1st, a trial against 11 squatters takes place in Bologna. The charge is 'criminal orga-nisation'. All 11 accused are working in the Squatters and Homeless Committee (COSC). COSC is existing since 3 years and is a basis-organisation in which squatters, tenants and home-less have joined together. COSC organizes squatts of flats, resistance against evictions and the struggle for a social center.

As in Bologna there is a big restructuring of the city in favour of offices and the Rich and this is among others the reason why hundreds of families are homeless, the municipal authorities have all reasons to fear COSC's struggle and influence. This is the reason for the trial.

Of course the charge 'criminal orga-nisation' is of tactical reasons (exactly because COSC is a basis-organisation) not directed against COSC itself, but it's quite clear that condemnation aims at COSC's power to act. And it leads much further:

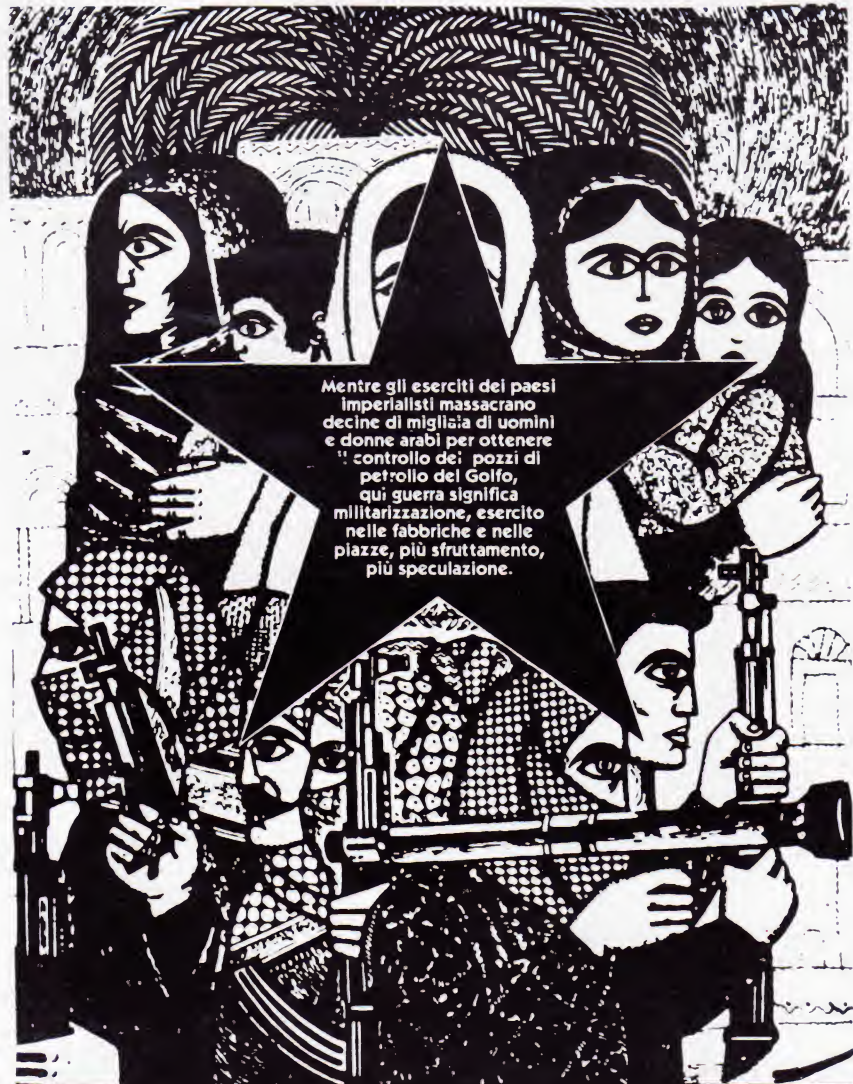
This trial is the first of this kind against a social basis struggle in Italy. Obviously it is a pilot project f. ex. with regard to the 10.000s of squatters in Napoli, Roma or Bari. And perhaps as well against every other basis organisation f. ex. in employment struggles or...

P.S. Meanwhile the trial has been put off to september.

A demonstration with 250 people took place, which wasn't attacked by the police. In the evening after the demonstration there was a festival in an old quarter of Bologna.

(the redaction)

Criminalisation of squatters



Mentre gli eserciti dei paesi imperialisti massacrano decine di migliaia di uomini e donne arabi per ottenere il controllo dei pozzi di petrolio del Golfo, qui guerra significa militarizzazione, esercito nelle fabbriche e nelle piazze, più sfruttamento, più speculazione.

**SABOTIAMO LA GUERRA IMPERIALISTA
INIZIATIVA DIRETTA AUTO-ORGANIZZAZIONE
COSTRUIAMO LO SCIOPERO GENERALE**

Comitato Occupanti e Senza Casa
Centro Sociale Zanardi 28

We decided to publish this artikel from the newspaper "Fighting Talk" although it is about a demonstration that took place in August 1991. We print it because we know the problems mentioned in the artikel from other countries and think an exchange about these questions is important.

"Fighting Talk is the newspaper of AFA (Anti-Fascist Action), an antifascist group that is spread in many english cities. Actually we wpuld like to write more about antifascist work in England but we haven't enough informations and this article presetns only a small part of the situation in England. This is also a call up for english antifa-groups to send us articles.

FIGHTING TALK

After the débâcle of Thamesmead, on Saturday 24th August 1991 an anti-racist march, called by the National Black Caucus and supported by the Society of Black Lawyers, wandered from Peckham through Camberwell along the Old Kent Road and into Southwark Park, Bermondsey. The march attracted some 300 people. No real effort was put into building for a large principled opposition to the racists and/or the fascists who have been operating in Soeeth London. Effectively the largest group working in this area are Anti-Fascist Action (AFA). We were neither informed of the march nor invited to any planning meetings. In contrast to this exclusion of AFA was the invitation to the police to attend the stewards meeting (they accepted)! These decisions defy all logic!

If invited to planning meetings AFA would have argued against having such an event at that time. Despite this position AFA decided that it should have a presence on the march in order to have an influence on any future activities hatched up by the incompetents of the National Black Caucus. In the event the AFA contingent was the largest to attend.

All the rumours of various groups being politicised and turning up *en masse* to support the initiative turned out to be the predictable hot air that the National Black Caucus seem to specialise in. There were very few members of the local communities present. This was a direct result of the lack of planning, lack of publicity and lack of vision that had typified the (mis)organisation of this demonstration.

As the march progressed there were constant rumours about groups of fascists and racists waiting on the Old Kent Road. They always seemed to be exaggerated, and the stewards either contributed to them or ignored them, being happy to let the march straggle out far too loosely for safety's sake.

However, on turning into the estates it was immediately apparent that the rumours in fact grossly underestimated both

the number and quality of people opposing the march. The streets were alive with people, with groups of up to sixty voicing their very militant opposition to the march. As the march reached Southwark Park it was confronted with almost the entire population of the surrounding estates leaning from balconies and lining the streets, complete with Union Jack flags, shouting abuse at the "invaders".

As the march started to enter the park further progress was prevented by a wave of some 300 racists storming across the park towards us. This was bad, but worse was to come as two further waves of about the same numbers also charged across to join their compatriots. Fortunately they did not attack the march. However, there is no doubt that the vast majority of the counter-demonstrators were willing and able to physically oppose the demonstration. Equally there is no doubt that the vast majority of the demonstrators were both unwilling and unable to defend themselves. As the threat became more apparent the march stewards formed up holding hands, with their backs to the racists and faced the demonstrators – see no evil and there is no evil!

The organisers then began demanding that the racists be removed from the park, claiming that the police had reneged on their promises. How can they seriously expect those that they purport to oppose to either make promises in good faith or to honour those promises once things begin to go wrong – particularly given that the most consistent chant on the march was "Who are the racists – the police are the racists"? Yet another proof that the National Black Caucus exists on a planet completely separate from the rest of us.

The extra-terrestrial influence was again displayed when it was announced, from the roof of a minibus whilst we were still under siege, that the march was a success and that it would be repeated before the end of the year. The only success that could be envisaged at this stage

was getting out of the area safely. Any realistic analysis must conclude that march was a complete and abject failure.

Surveying the local streets and shopping areas in the afternoon and evening reinforce this view. Asian and black shopkeepers were seen in their shops looking out through pulled-down shutters into the area where they live and work, in fear of the consequences of this adventure. These fears were realised as the day progressed and the black and Asian working class residents and workers in the area suffered verbal and physical abuse to themselves, their cars, their shops, their homes and their bodies. This, while the middle class leadership of the National Black Caucus and Society of Black Lawyers scuttled back to their comfortable areas. Instead of uniting the residents around the class they were split on the basis of colour.

What was the reaction of the press to the demonstration? For the most part they found it inexplicable and chose to ignore it. Those that mentioned it, in contrast to normal practice, over estimated the number of anti-racists, and, in keeping with normal practice, minimised the threat posed by the racists.

The local papers opened their letter columns to the people of Bermondsey, and most writers expressed views in support of the counter-demonstration and against the antics of those who called the march.

The SWP in a paragraph hidden away in their paper offered the opinion that it was a minor defeat. Anti-racists, having set the timetable of events, had the opportunity to work for as long as they needed, but only mobilised 300. The fascists of the BNP were able, in a few days, to mobilise a whole working class estate to their side. If the SWP's position is really to take the socialist struggle to the labour movement and inspire the working class then the day's events can at best be described as the portent of a major disaster.

British Nationalist, the BNP paper, offered the view that it was a victory for

them and for the working class of Bermondsey. In this analysis they are half correct; it was a victory for the BNP, but it was a clear defeat for the working class, a defeat suffered at the hands of the march organising committee.

We should have no illusions about the events of 24th August. It was a major disaster. It has set back the work AFA is doing in South London appreciably. To be successful any demonstration has to involve the local community both during the event itself and at its organisational stages. This was never done. No attempt was made to contact community groups, labour movement or political groups, workers, or residents of Bermondsey. The result was hardly surprising.

The BNP are not as naive as groups not actively involved in anti-fascist struggle like the National Black Caucus, SWP, etc would have us believe. They did produce propaganda that alerted local people and called on them to "protect Bermondsey against invasion". They did not, in the lead up to the day, play the race card – they had no need to. The unsubtle propaganda of the National Black Caucus had already identified all white people in the area as racist supporters of the race-attackers.

The BNP had no need to add anything more to their message until the march started. By then they held all the cards and were able to win support on the basis of being the controllers of the streets, the group that empowered workers enabling them to exercise influence in their areas. The BNP are truthfully able to say that they chivvied a ragbag march along the streets of South London, confined it to a dismal corner of a park, contained it until they got bored and then pushed it out of the area.

The march should have gone through working class areas and estates with a message to unite the class. However, as with many things the practice needs a little more thought, a little more planning, and a lot more than merely announcing a demonstration, publishing a route and strolling along on a march.

To effectively combat fascism and/or racism a full campaign must be launched. Not isolated, possibly well-intentioned, events. AFA's position has always been to argue against the "publicity stunts" of "gesture" politics. A solitary march cannot be described as a campaign though it could be the prelude to a campaign. But no campaign was intimated prior to the march, nor to the participants on the day. Nor has one emerged in the weeks following the march. But if there is no campaign planned what, then, are the motives for the march?

Is it that the organisers knew of the likely response? Maybe they had taken heed of our position – that despite the relatively low numbers of active fascists their potential strength is enormous. Perhaps the strategy was to lift the stone and look at the maggots. If so, no thought was given to the consequences, to the number of maggots exposed. No one considered that the maggots might decide to occupy two stones once they had been disturbed. If this is truly the reason then it smacks of the revolutionary tourist faction of political activity – untenable and indefensible.

Were the motives more sinister? Rumours abound that the National Black Caucus and the Society of Black Lawyers are keen to increase their state funding. Clearly to do this they need to have a high profile. Numerous activities in the public eye suit this strategy, whilst the more arduous planning and street level work a good campaign needs has too low a vis-

ibility level to attract funds.

Or, more likely, were the motives political naivety? Perhaps the middle class leadership of the NBC and SBL do not know how working class estates operate. Perhaps they did not know that these particular estates were predominantly white and racist with an historical connection to the far right.

It is abundantly clear that these people do not recognise fascists. They still live in the late 1970s and early 80s where it was far easier (though never totally accurate) to say that all fascists are skinheads and all skinheads are fascists. Nowadays it is dangerous to make those assumptions.

The BNP, the National Front, and the British Movement are not predominantly composed of skinheads and the anti-fascist movement does include a significant number of skinheads. The organisers and stewards were visibly shocked that the opponents were casuals and completely non-plussed that a number of AFA supporters were skinheads.

Regardless of the motives behind the schemes of groups like the National Black Caucus it is clear they have neither the political analysis, the base in the community nor the willingness to develop a base through grass roots work.

After August 24th AFA representatives were invited to a number of local meetings to debate the merits of another similar march through the same area. Fortunately AFA has more credibility and more logic than the adventurers who want a repeat showing, and we were able to isolate the supporters of a follow-up march. Our view is that no more events should be attempted without first doing grass roots work on the local estates and streets, and without involving a wide section of the community in building for it.

AFA is active in South London and is prepared to assist with building a campaign with realistic and achievable objectives. If the lessons of Bermondsey are learned and translated into a workable strategy then AFA would show support and encourage people to attend.

However, the end 1991 saw the National Black Caucus threatening to invite Farrakan to this country on the grounds that "if they can invite a white racist [Le Pen] then we can invite Farrakan". And 1992 has seen the re-emergence of a proposal that everyone hoped was pure rhetoric – to march on Bermondsey again. Again it is thought this can be done without any work in the community. Again it will fail. Again the responsibility will lie with pure political opportunists. We need no more evidence of their failure to grasp the realities of broad-based anti-racist anti-fascist work. No support should be given to these opportunistic misconceived adventures.



Extreme Violence ----- Inner Colonies

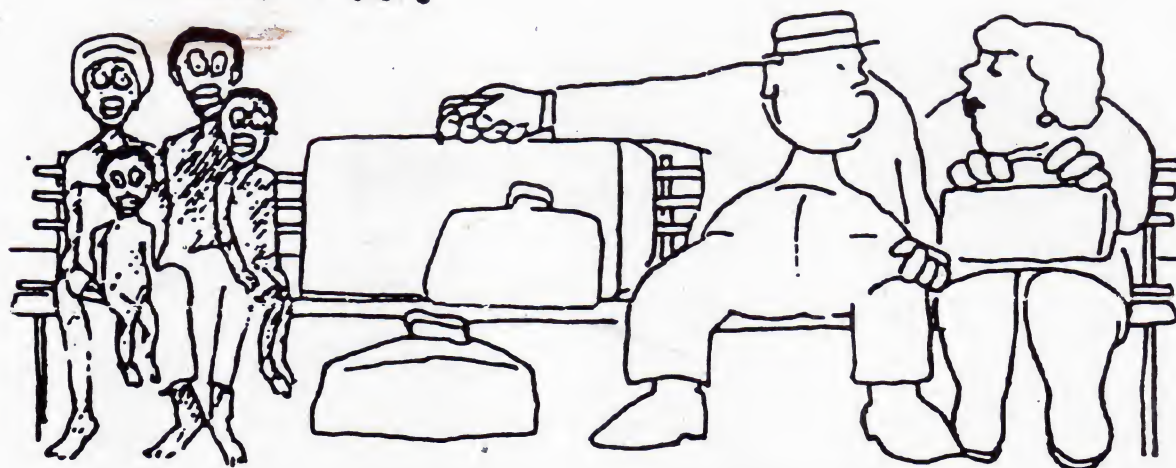
Once a week he buys a woman who is forced to prostitute for the reason she is addicted to drugs. He objects the use of a condom. The death of this woman, the death of "his" woman and that children become orphans he does not care about. **He is a normal white male.**

Sometimes in the evening he visits one of his friends. This friend recently bought a woman from Asia. Today there are five men at the friend's house. Again the woman from Asia had cooked an excellent exotic meal. After the supper the friend said: "I will offer you just another one" And he did not mention a drink. "This will make the slut obey"

He kicks down the accelerator, when pedestrians enerve him. Byclists are pure provocation to him. The half of the woods are gone, men like him kill and cripple thousands every year. Especially children suffer on diseases of respiratory tracts. The opinion of the normal white male is: "Down the terror, free way for free citizens!"

He seldom laughs warm, but often he laughs on filthy jokes. For example on jokes where others are to be blamed. At work there is a man from Portugal, another from Kurdistan, this is the occasion to have fun. They really don't have to mind....

Wenn Sie nicht so überbevölkert
wären, brauchten Sie nicht so
viel Platz



If they weren't so over-spill populated, they wouldn't need so much space

The normal white male, in the age where they are able to act, makes a third of Swiss population. He is also active in incest, abuse of children, psychoterror, hostility against disabled and old people, homophobia, militarism and similar cases.

Not the whole third of normal white males is active in this way. But there is still the rest of 20 % normal white males. Few of them are on the top. This few possess millions or even billions, houses, estates and concerns; medias, money and arms; planes, oil and uranium; patents on animals and such on human genes. They also rule. They are well known and elected to parliament by the male and female Swiss people all owners of the red passport. But the most of the 20 % of normal white males does not belong to the very successful people in life, they did not manage in being on the top, but managed much more on the normal level. They terrorise all of us.

For which reason there are no examinations about these species? Why not a programme for re-socialisation into humanity? In lack of this children were "observed with interest", migrants are to be "integrated", women become "objects of science". But it's not the behaviour of children, migrants, it's the everyday acting normal white male which gives reason for alert. **He works with the most extreme violence.**

When we see the normal white male in the crowded subway refusing to sit down on a vacant seat near a man from Sri Lanka and when we see him again in the night when he buys a prostitute, so we say these two pictures belong together. We also say the contempt, the hate and the aggression against the foreigner and the woman have the same source inside the Mr. Swiss himself. Coloured men, all of the women, at all of the 'others' are nature, sexual, foreign and threatening and therefore they have to be colonised. This becomes the most visible, if the normal white male appropriates a coloured woman: He's becoming a pimp, husband, raper and employer of the coloured woman, which he marries to his own sexual disposal via an agency, and he rents her into prostitution and he appropriates her working power. An accumulation of power being seldom possible.

We remember : Jorge Gomez was murdered in the Communal Center Heuried in 1988. Transit Camps were attacked under the threat of the habitant's life for years; four refugees from Sri - Lanka were burned during such an attack in Chur. Recently a rejected person seeking asyl "drowned in the Aare (river) during an identity check from the police ". Foreigners were smashed up, threatened, offended, teased and murdered on street. This escalation, meant the strengthen of the right- wing movements in all about Europe the neonazis and of any other allies of manhood, is advanced into the swiss left-wing and resistance fighting people's consciousness. The racism more and more manifesting itself obliges to mobilize against. Every month it's seen just from announcements of some selected newspapers, that 3 or 10 woman are murdered by 'their' men. According to the official statistics of crimes 75 % of all the murders committed in the Swiss are the ones single men did to single women (mostly husbands, friends, ex - lovers etc.) Women were threatened, offended, teased, touched, raped, murdered on street. This reality lasting for decades, obviously does *not* obliges the left - wing and resistance fighting people to mobilize against.

How does that show ?

If we hear f. ex. about male palestinians not being able to walk anymore fearlessly on the streets of Berlin by night, because they were attacked, smashed up or even murdered, then it's a kind of arrogance and hypocrisy to incense fiercely about right this. And that because everybody knows, that women *always* are and were not able to walk fearlessly on the streets of *any* town. They were raped, smashed up, murdered. And because of everybody also knows, that female palestinians *never at all* - day or night - were able to walk on the streets of Berlin. *All* of these people have to be meant, whose feeling of being alive here is influenced by the fear, by the necessity to hide themselves, to slander themselves, by the feeling to be haunted, by the persisting attacks on the own person. Then it's about to see, *who* is able to move free on the streets here. And there 's exactly the point we have to set our resistance against: **Resistance against the responsible persons of this situation, resistance against the profiteers of the same situation and against the own privileges resulting out of this situation. And that simultaneously.**

The last years pointed out clearly, that we can't get the main responsables as quick. But every resistance starts at the basic, and just there it looks like unpleasant here in the Swiss. The turkish, tamile, kurdisch, albanian man considers sexism not being existing or just by the way and he's behaving towards women not any better way than the normal white male does.

The swiss feminist has racist HangUps.

But the foreign woman in Swiss also can behave antisemitic or hostile against disabled people... And this way the grades of violent relationships are going downstairs slowly, and the most people latent have internalized something of these relationships of contempt.

However such a principle *can* not be broken, if everybody around keeps on hold of her/his little piece of privilege being of advantage to her/him. But it's about putting honestly and radically the own privileges in question (with practical consequences, of course). - Instead there's a kind of 'policy of consternation' pursued. But no policy of consternation as an authentic alternative to the policy of representatives, but a 'policy of consternation' that has degenerated more and more into protection of prebends and selfish interests.

Women involved into the feminist movement, that are never interested in asyl policy -

Squatters, who never take care of healthy policy -

Committed foreigners, who never worry about the destruction of the environment -

Gays and lesbians, who never engage against imperialism -

- they all have got the wrong idea, because **there's not just no liberation at the expense of the others, there's also no liberation without the others.**

This state of affairs, we have now, the 20 % normal white males enjoy the most. Finally it guarantees them to be in a key position. But if we want to get rid of the normal white male as a yardstick of all affairs, does this mean :

* that all violent relationship are only to be solved in connection, in cooperation and simultaneously.

* that every - also unconscious - attempt to separate such violent relationships from each other or to keep hold on the own privileges out of it, leads to strengthen the ruling situation.

* that the situation of the multiple exploited people (black, foreign women or sexually exploited children f. ex.) has to be in the focus of every fight wanted to be taken serious.

* That cuts, connectings, but also contradictions of the violent relationships have to be located and have to be put in concrete terms in a practical way in the resistance. The wheelings and dealings in the spheres of population policy, the trade with women, the drug policy, gentechology, sex tourism, healthy policy f. ex. are situated upon such cuts.

**In this meaning : Today all against racism and hostility against foreign people
But tomorrow all against sexism. And the day after tomorrow**

FEAR FOR THE SHIVERS OF FREEDOM.

BY: Ingrid Strobl

A historical analysis of patriarchy and of the women fighting it form the preface for a sharp attack on and contradiction of the biological differential-theory in all it's forms of appearance and especially in the "women-friendly sexism" of the radical left.

Though we only know little about matriarchy or about certain matriarchal society's in forms of materials based on historical facts (which is something else than retrospective day-dreams) one thing we can take for sure, namely that patriarchy as a ruling system was only possible to establish after a long-term and bloody struggle. The proofs for that are to be found in European history, in the classic legends and Amazonefriezes (stone-tablets), in the witchhunt and still in the ethic of Rousseau and the Code of Napoleon. It was not until the victory from the commonalty over the whole society, and thus not only on an economical base, that the subjection of the female and with this her inferiority became a fact. But even after this temporary total defeat of the female gender one can again and again see certain groups of women rise against their destiny, which applied from that moment on as something "natural".

In the 16th and 17th century there were still quite some women living in Europe, who didn't find it necessary at all to subject themselves to somekind of a so-called protector. Grimmelshausen gives in his story 'Courage' a description of a women's life at the beginning of the 17th century; a livelihood which indeed was hard but independant, which was threatened but at the same time being prepared to face the threatening.

Numerous amounts of women fought themselves in those days independently through life, either as a handworker, as traveller or as sutler, either as midwife or swindler. It is out of the question, that the female had become invisible, that she disappeared in the reproduction range. Rather the contrary was happening; the women formed as far as numbers go the majority of the population. They were noisy, insolent and rebellious; they were actively involved by all upcoming sectes and rebellious movements. They formed a yeasty revolutionairy potential, which was a threat for the spiritual as well as for the secular power. The witchhunt, which went along with the upcoming of the commonalty and which was organized by the secular jurisdiction which constituted itself, was inserted as an instrument to beat down those potential and sometimes acute uprisings of those rebellious wives. After the murder on about 9 till 30 million women in less than two centuries the majority of the survivors and descendants were intimidated to such an extent, that they

more or less subjected themselves to the regime of the in the meantime common patriarchy. Because just as with torture information is pressed-off and not yet tortured people are intimidated, with the public burning of the witches the accused were punished and at the same time all women who were not yet accused, were intimidated. In an atmosphere, in which every women was a potential witch, a behaviour that might help to avert the suspicion of oneself is quickly developed.

The middle-class revolution liquidated the rest of what was left off female rebellion. Marie Antoinette was decapitated not only because she was queen. She was decapitated as a symbol of the 'immorality' of the old society. Because long before the decapitation was proceeded, male revolutionaries had started a campaign, in which the queen was pictured as the heyday of decadency: nymphomaniac and lesbian, adulteress and craving for power. The patriots still labelled her as 'foreigner', and last but not least she is being accused of keeping contact with poisoners and witches. The revolutionary Olympe de Gouges suspected the deeper meaning of this campaign and she as well had her head chopped off. The ordinary run of the 'middle-class women' let themselves be fouled, complied to the sexist bugaboo and wanted the head of the queen even before the king's head. As reward they got the middle-class regime of the husband, weakened through the often chanted praises on the female- middle-class- valids: purity, obedience and conjugal fidelity.

'The negation of the wrong still remains wrong; the dialectical break is missing, the abolishment thus' (Bert Brecht)

Seeing that women have the ability to bear children, they were socially entrusted with the task of reproduction as a whole, a burden that curtailed their social and political influence. If one however- like it happens in numerous, also feminist theories- reduces this fault to it's origin, to be known as the biological difference between the sexes, then with this the reduction of the female to her biological gender is consolidated, and with this the necessary lie of patriarchy in it's negation is adopted. These kinds of theories pass by the fact, that reproduction-work and social work are not something that is unchangeable, but that they have been changed and formed in course of time.

The historical development of raising children can be used here as an example. Till far in the 18th century children were not raised. They were feeded and next to that they grew up in family-relations or in the social group in which the mother lived. Babies were put in carrying-boxes, so that they could be laid down somewhere during work: at work on the fields, in the stable, in the workroom, on the

forage-wagons, on the barrow of the travelling marketwoman. Unwanted or too many babies were killed. If women could not afford it financially, they gave the child to a midwife, until it was big enough to no longer be of hindrance. The so-called motherlove is a middle-class invention. Reproduction-work was not always that, what it means for the middle-class housewife, who has to take care of it all by herself.

Besides that the reduction to reproduction-work did not exist at all for the greater part of the women. Women, in fact, also carried out work in the so-called tradeworld. Either in the agriculture, or in the manufacturies resp. factories, either in the trade or in the trade-service sector. They were always present, in certain times they even were strongly present to such an extent, that they were contested by their male concurents; like for example the guild-handworking women, the midwives, the beerbrewing women and others. In the 19th century even the young German workers' movement collaborated with the reactionary tailoring-pupils, to bring the women-controlled trade of tailoring into the hands of the men.

For the early industrial capitalist it nearly made no difference, how the tradegood workforce was reproduced. The only thing that was important, was how the workforce could be exploited totally, how the workforce could be totally "freed" of every other means of existence, to in this way be available at any time. Only after the higher technical development of the production it became necessary to qualify the workers and learn them certain proficiencies, like reliability, health, certain base-knowledge, punctuality a.s.o. These qualities had to be learned and obtained in the frame-work of the reproduction; thus by the domestic and social work of the female, to who a priori this ground was granted. By this the female was burdened with a gigantic extra-work, while the man was paid a family-wage, so that he was made responsible for the providing of the female. The upcoming working-class took over the middle-class ideal of the family, the 'not-working', which means the non-paid working wife became the big example of the male worker, as a proof for the social progress from the proletarian misery to the middle-class morality.

But with this the 'idyl' was still no reality. On the one hand the family-wage was mostly not enough to support the whole family. On the other hand the woman, not (anymore) working for wage, did no longer supply an essential support to the family-income; either through homework, either by keeping a vegetable or peoples garden. And in any way by her economy, which brought an extra burden; namely long walking-trips to get a hand on the cheapest provisions, the self-sticking of clothes, the taking care of subtenants a.s.o. What however did found a common entrance, was the degradation of the work of women to

'co-operation'. Not the less by the low wages for women, the woman could only gain a co-operation wage. Without her achievements in kind the family would not be able to survive, but those achievements were not valued in money and were therefore worthless.

Even in the high-capitalistic period a Madame Bovary thus disappeared; but the real peopleswoman has not disappeared. Her curse does not exist out of the factual limitation to reproduction, but out of the fact, that she was in fact always twice as much burdened, that she had to do productive as well as reproductive work, and at the same time she did not do any work at all in the eyes of the society. The patriarchal theory and social politics have systematically worked on making the woman invisible, out of the daily life where it was not possible to ignore her. Her disappearing was so long propagated, until she saw herself as non-existing, considered herself as an appendix of the man.

This is true for a great part of the women in Europe. But also in the so-called Third World-countries patriarchy predominated, partly 'independantly', partly as a result of the colonisation. And also there the mastery of the man was settled in a long and contradictory history of struggle and resistance, about which there is -typical enough- a lot less knowledge here than about the slaughterings and fights of patriarchy in Europe.

'Especially matters, with which we are high up, we do not want to appoint' (Merleau-Ponty)

The historical analysis denies not at all the existence of a biological difference. Indeed the bodies of the two genders are different in means of functioning for the reproduction of the human race. The man only carries the sperm, while the body of the woman has to do all the rest, the coming together of the sperm and the egg, the riping of the impregnated egg, the pregnancy, the giving-birth of the child and the first feeding of the child.

In a society that is organized according to the most simple principles of fairness, it would be self-evident, that after the birth of the child the father would take over the estafette-stick. The taking-care and raising of the baby should be the self-evident task of the father, who until then was more or less idle. There is no reason at all, neither physical, nor psychological, why the bodily mother would be indispensable for the just born child. The ability of women to give birth causes also other burdens next to the load of pregnancy and birth, and although they exist by nature they are fitted in society as well; the monthly menstruation, but above all the permanent fertility of the female-human. One should trace, how much more this permanent fertility has contributed to the resignation of the female, than the effective mothership has. One, two and even more pregnancies would- in times of a justifiable organisation of society- be very well possible, without by this attacking the

social position of the female. This however only then when the woman becomes a mother out of her own wish and not because she is forced to or because it is her imposed task to do so.

In contradiction to the fertility of animals, which is limited to a short period of the year, the female is almost uninterruptedly fertile (with exclusion of the few 'unfertile days' in her cycle); which means, that she can always be made pregnant. An unlimited row of pregnancies and births however means an attack on the body of women as well as on her social flexibility. Women therefore experience the permanent threat, that they are limited in their total way of life just by their sexual deed. This real experience of women has consequences for their social existence- and for their sexuality, their views on sexuality. With sexuality the impuls to resignation is given, when the man becomes aware of his power - to make the female pregnant and by this weaken her. Just because of this elementary situation the society should be organized differently, so that to complement the biological weakness of women (which is the reverse of their ability to reproduction) she is equipped with more power than men.

In European history there have been times, in which women were capable to create a certain amount of balance. This happened for example, while the genders resigned their generative sexuality to ritual laws and in imitation of animals pairing only took place on certain points of time. Or it happened, be-

cause women had preservatives-technics at their disposal and with them were capable to regulate their fertility and as well uncouple their sexuality from the generative dictate. Otherwise formulated: making their sexuality to their own experience of delight. Or it happened, by aborting foetuses in the transition-period, in which large parts of the female population were already deprived of their knowledge on preservatives-technics and only a few specialists, like midwives, were capable of offering a certain amount of help. Here the reason has to be found for the fact that, in the times of the witchhunt midwives and so-called wise women were the first to be criminalized. Because women in the end had to be deprived of their possibility to dispose their fertility autonomously; in other words, they in the end had to be at the mercy of the power of the man with their bodily and societal flexibility.

In after-times heterosexual women could only regulate their fertility at the cost of mutilating themselves: by totally giving up their sexuality, by extraditing themselves to barbarous and often murderous abortion-practises, by practically and verbally consolidating the middle-class ideology of the female asexuality and frigidity, yes even internalizing it.

The decent middle-class female had no acquaintance with feelings of delight. Her body was an instrument for the satisfaction of the man and for the reproduction of the human race. The price, that the man had to pay- purely theoretically- for this, was taking care of this one, to him legally inferior woman for



life. Or the hourly wage of a whore.

The rather sober statement of Kant, namely that the marriage is a contract for the mutual use of the sexual organs, was an anachronism already on the moment of formulation. And for sure since the French revolution, since the domestication of the unbounded fishwives of Paris to middle-class women the mutual use is out of the question. Used was only the woman's body: by the man to satisfy his growing autistic sexual needs; by the women to apply some social 'advantages'. For the woman her body was no longer a source of own feelings of delight, but only an apparatus, which she could sell to get other goods of it's buying-price. Either a one-off sell to one only user, either a repeatedly sell to different users. The necessary support, taking-care and cleaning of the machine was guaranteed in the first case by the one-off buyer, the husband; in the last case, by plural selling the sales-woman had to take care of the costs by herself. This showed itself in a higher buying-price or in a faster unrigging of the machine. In this way the woman belived an alienation, that goes deeper than the alienation through capitalistic working-proportions. Because while she as a female wage-worker only sold her work-power, for example the skillfulness of her hands, as woman she sold herself totally.

The most humiliating view of female slavery and female alienation is the married woman, who is full of loathe and antipathy but at the same time lies resigned and full abandonment under her possessor and only wanting one thing: that he gets ready quickly. This radical depersonalisation of the woman as sexual identity has fargoing effects for her whole identity. And at the same time for the identity of the man. He is sure about his willing wife, though her resignation bores him and lets him search for alternation at the 'immoral' women; they do not only sell him their bodies, but for extra pay also give him the illusion, that he belives and gives delight. In this way perverts the original provision, to give and get delight, to a lie which you can buy; to something like an extraterritorial, regulatable and with this controllable luxury, which is an imagination. In daily life the man does not really want to see the autonomous delight of the woman, because it is threatening, a symptom of self-reliancy, of independancy - something, that is to be prevented for women, because it attacks the power-position of the man.

On this base, which is the result of a social development and thereby already so deeply anchored, that it has become a second nature for both genders. on this base the man feels himself strong enough and sure enough, that he even can lay his hands on the attempts of women to liberate themselves. And so it happened, that in the early Soviet Union the in a short revolutionary stage initiated sexual liberation of the women promptly changed into its contrary: when women like Kollontai propagated the demolition of the marriage as a forced structure and pleaded for the Free Sexuality, all men, who did not disapprove of such demands directly, ranked themselves

on their sides. The girls of the Konsomol were now sexually put under pressure by their male colleges and even forced. If they refused to be at their disposal, they were marked as contra-revolutionary and with this practically blackmailed.

Something alike this happened during the sexual revolution of the 60ties. If women refused to sleep with everybody and to join all sexual games, they were denounced as reactionary and frigid. What happened in those days in limited, quasi elitary circles, exists nowadays in a with porno drenched male society, as a mass phenomenon.

'Women who still have an own will, do not love as much as they say they do' (Choderlos de Laclos: dangerous liaisons)

The sober attitude of the ancient regime got chopped off together with the heads of their aristocracy. This attitude was not a privilege of the aristocracy, but was also supported by the women out of the population, because they were disdained and feared by the citizens who came to power by this coup. The ideologists of these civilians, and especially Rousseau, made it to their task to help realize the conditions for a capitalistic regime: self-limitation, order and neatness, ordered relations of possession- by turning the people's heads. Since the clear insight in the brutality of the sexual relations of possession and exploitation of the slaves would have led to an uprising and with this robbed off the beautiful illusions of the lords (equality, freedom, brotherhood), a latent available narcotic was reactivated by the civic ethic: love.

Simone de Beauvoir asserted once very laconic: because you can not make women believe, that their greatest happiness would exist out of scouring pots and pans and washing napkins, one makes them believe, that they would do it out of love. When the civilians (middle-class) had grounded itself politically and societal there were not made any marriages of convenience anymore, but one married out of love. At least that is what the marriage-partners tried to make themselves believe. For the common people however, which would be less easily deployed by the structure of the civic family, the marriage was made more difficult, and even forbidden. Untill far into the 19th century in great parts of Europe there was still something like a dowry, which could never be afforded by maids and servants.

The sexual behaviour of the lowest class was not so much determined by the civic right as by the criminal law. The ability of a civilized love was denied, their sexuality was qualified as being bestial and therefore had to be regulated by the government. Houses of the poor, houses of workers and madhouses were the final point for sexual 'striking' women from the lowest class, houses of correction were stuffed with (female) childmurderers. It is this practice which was perfectionized in an increasing amount and reached its highest

point under the national-socialism as well in its completeness of the registration as for the brutality of its intervention.

The workingclass was drummed into its mind, that the petty-bourgeois family based on love was a sign of social progress, out of the backstreet existence; a propaganda that landed on fertile soil. With the men, because by this their social status and their concrete power over women was improved. With women, because of their double tasks they got the impression that through the liberation of their production-task they would truly be liberated. And because they, like Beauvoir asserted, found the scouring of pots out of love more acceptable than scouring the pots in slavery. Under the construction of ideology rather lives a real human desire for dedication, love and sexual lust. This need, which took different forms in the course of history, was in the end canalised in the strait waistcoat of civilian love. Thus it became one of the most effective handles of the patriarchal power - next to the concrete application of violence. It is the most radical, most strongly anchored hinder that women experience against their own liberation: she namely beloves her possessor, she looks for protection against a strange raper by her private raper, she adopts her identity from the acceptance of her opponent.

The dependancy of the woman who does not gain any societal power or enough knowledge of preservative tecnics, to determine her fertility autonomously, and the in course of time on-going alienation of the woman of her own body, as a source of own delight and the simultaneous benumbing of the female consciousness by the drug love, this triple constellation forms the base of the middle-class patriarchal power. The denial of this base deprives every revolutionary theory its revolutionary quality.

That men remain silent about the sexual relations of power is logic. Their autistic sexual behaviour of misappropriated taking in possession has to them become a sort of second nature in the process of establishing and extending the patriarchal power, a part of their identity, which in its whole is threatened when this part is being abandoned. That women remain silent about this is partly connected to their identification with the aggressor and his theories. And this is connected to the fear of the (female) slave for the shivers of freedom. And in this way the instrumentalized and sexual relation between the two genders, also based on violence, is disregarded, which forms the foundation for the economical and social relations and which therefore had to be lifted in the most radical way; and this is also neglected by those who are right now busy fighting the relations of violence- and power.



Figaro to Susanna: Courage!
Susanna to Figaro: And you, wisdom!
 (Mozart)

Because of the women being responsible for the entire range of the reproduction she is fulfilling three functions at the same time: she is birth- and sexmachine, she is housekeeper, roommaid and nanny; she is volunteerworker, refuge and at the same time she is the object for his need for affection and for aggression. That from these three tasks, if something like this is brought in anyway, always only one task, namely that of housekeeper and nanny, is mentioned, it is not at all coincidental, as was showed before. And even in connection to this task the revolutionary utopy appears to be very limited. There are phantasies about deprivatization of this range by governmental facilities, thus kindergartens, peopleskitchens and laundries a.s.o. On one hand such institutes are immediately supplied with female personell, either as imagination, or as a real experiment like in the beginning of the Soviet Union. On the other hand such imaginations and for sure the concrete experiments are necessarily of short term and without much elan, because they neglect the need of the (capitalistic formed) human for privacy and the need cq. wish of the man for personal care, which can only be guaranteed properly by the loving woman.

The man is not pointing at the factive destruction of the female gender, he is not out for liquidation of the differences between the genders. At the contrary, he tries to continue the social exploitation of the biological being-different and to amplify it, to use it for himself, not only in an economical range but also in private. Only by the living and in her genderrole good functioning woman he can pour out his heart. Only she can give him the illusion, that he is the supporter and protector and above all that he is the great hero. Only in the STUPOR of the living, by him raped woman he can indulge his feelings of power, while transforming it into sexual feelings of lust. Only in the eyes of the living woman he can gape in admiration at his unique appearance and form himself a dillusion of his importance and superiority, which fails him so much when he is under colleagues.

His experiments on the range of fertile-technics come from his desire for omnipotence, but this omnipotence sinks into nothing, as soon as he finds himself simply under other omnipotences. For his confidence as a male being he needs, except for a hierarchical relation to his congener, also the certainty of his superiority over a naturally inferior being; he can reflect himself on the insignificance of such a being; he can stimulate benevolently the aspirations of this being to the venerable - so to him -, because he is sure about that this will never be reached. He has no need for equality and levelling; he just needs the difference.

So the statement, that the idea 'equality' with the man 'as measuring-staf of all things' is the same as the adaption from the woman to the man and thus means the levelling of the genders, falls prey to the traditional lie of the



differential-ideology. Because hereby the definition of the opponent is taken over and by this his power is admitted; a power which always includes a definition-power.

The tertium comperationis is not the man but the human-being. That is a situation, which is only stated untill now, but not yet reached; a situation, which is only then realisable in a society which does not link a value judgement on gender, race and class. A society which raises the untill now ruling norm, through which not only the behaviour of people is determined, but also their very deep rooted needs and desires.

Not the certification of the biological difference and the from there forthcoming social differences fixes the norms, but the sticking to the biological difference as a value fixes hierarchical thinking. As long as people, man and woman, keep on seeing the biological difference as a value on itself, they by this extradite the carriers of these differences to the valuation by the power, the valuation through the ruling norm of this very moment. Because if it is defined differently, it is always more or less, but never equal.

Just like smart racists there are smart sexists. They profile themselves already for a long time by making women believe, that their ability to give birth also brings specific qualities along, through which women as a gender are better human-beings, more lovely, that they have more tolerance, have more carefulness, are more peaceful and more condiderate on life. This suggestion contents, that on one

side men do not have to learn these qualities, and on the other women are kept away to learn 'male' (as male defined) qualities. Many women led themselves be drugged by this narcotic for they then do not have to accept and change their real position as unequal, dependant, exploited and humiliated beings.

The variant of the radical-left of this smart sexism is the romantization of the reproduction range, as a range of subjectivity, a sort of enclave, which is not yet being demolished by the capitalistic order and rationality. This variant of the 'womanfriendly' sexism denies the dependant making, isolating, obtuse, monotonous and forced neurotic character of domestic work. It exists for a great part out of endless repeating activities, Sisypus-work. The cleaned plates are used, get dirty again, have to be cleaned again and so on untill the end. The floor is cleaned, it is walked over again, gets dirty again, has to be cleaned and on and on untill the end.

This lie, or as well self-deception, of these left sexists is overtaken by their phantasy image. What they namely demand, is at the most a socialisation of the domestic work, but never a take-over of these activities by the man, neither private nor collectively. The male revolutionary does not see himself in his phantasies doing the washing, the dishes, cleaning napkins and cleaning toilets. If he has to do these kind of necessary duties once, he often does it (often forced to it by female housemates) with aversion, as a duty, as concession. But in theory, in which these nasty tasks are automatically left to women, the left man manages it, in an unbelievable deed of suppression, to take off the indeed necessary but unpleasant character of these duties and change them as if by magic into

autonomous, thoroughly human engagements, that save and keep the subjectivity. The bringing in harmony of the domestic work by the male theoretic corresponds with the suppression of his need for a refuge-place, where he as tired warrior can return to from the battlefield, so that a lovely woman takes care of his body, heals his wounds, appeases his hunger and gives the necessary attention to his heroic deeds. As modern revolutionary the man has to look away from this dream, that his comrades from the past were/are allowed to dream. As revenge and to compensate this he defines the woman as a quiet and passive victim, that is being sucked dry and swallowed mercilessly by the omnipresent and typically male imperialism-instrument. Except when he, the noble knight, jumps on his war-horse and is able to save the helpless victim out of the mouth of the monster.

At the latest since the civic virtuousness has conquered the European human-being, the woman without the man counts as a ridiculous phenomenon, and at best, as a tragic figure. As a tragedy she has to pine away or commit suicide. As ridiculous phenomenon she raises pity or is sneered at. A woman without a man is a woman not wanted by any man and thus a woman of no value. If she speaks out her decision against the claim of possession of the man, than she is called a lesbian, whether she lives as a lesbian or not. There exists no female equivalent for bachelor, the man that 'retains his freedom'. Women are named wallflower, left alone, spinster.

The woman needs, to count as 'full valued' in the male society, not only the man, but also the child. Just like a woman without a man a woman without a child raises pity and mock: either she is infertile, and therefore regrettable, or she is unnatural, and thus despicable. Anyway, in any case she does not answer to the norm, and if this break is not yet persecuted, then in any case it is noticed. A woman without a child stands as well as a woman without a man constantly under the pressure of legitimization.

And in this way a woman without a man, without child, whether she wants it or not, becomes almost automatically a rebel. Of course she can try to 'restore' this principal break of the norm by submitting herself to the norm, the laws in other areas of society. But she can just as well, out of resistance against the fundamentals of the norm, become a frontfighter against the society that puts and keeps the norm.

But just as well the revolutionary woman, who fights against the ruling society - even if she can 'prove' to have man and child - will almost automatically be accused of breaking the norm. By giving up her 'female' passivity and not only directing her activity towards man and child, but committing herself to the 'cause', the revolution, she indeed breaks the rules of the sex. She is under suspicion of, even if this is totally unfounded, breaking the norm also in private, of behaving abnormally. The discrimination and persecution of women who break the norm, is not only committed by men, but just as well by women. The ruling

norm is not a system, thought out by devious rulers, that was once forced onto the people and that can be overcome by a bit of good intentions. It is much more based on deep rooted fears and needs, which are being forced on, falsified and shaped under pressure of the relations of power of the moment. The amazement about the stranger changed into distrust of the stranger, into xenophobia, into racism. The ability of giving birth of the woman changed into the source of her humiliation and exploitation and in the end that became her 'natural faith'. The otherness of a given moment becomes, treated as something other, in the end something-other.

It would be naive to believe, that the regulating of the human-being, that has become a sort of second nature, could be negated by a decision, by a revolutionary deed. It is just as slow as the matter, it even retains the revolutionary caprice back to 'the earth'. For an interminable time, the regulation can only be brought up again and again and be put into discussion by a longlasting and tough struggle. It will bring the revolutionary woman again and again into conflict with her comrades and will bring the revolutionary women again and again into conflict with the 'normal' people. The regulation is the advocate of the love of ease, because it is in any case less tiring, to comply oneself, than to fight it, societally as well as personally. The regulation suggests to the revolutionary women namely: you can only make yourself be heard by the normal people, the masses, they can only understand you if you start to behave normally yourself.

It is not an outside enemy, against which the revolutionary must fight as something outside of him; the regulation is hidden deep inside and is closely intertwined with the material out of which he is made as a social human-being. In order to fight against it he has to destroy part of himself. This is also the case for the revolutionary woman. Where she has to destroy the (female)slave inside herself, the male revolutionary has to destroy the ruler in himself. Where she is wounded in the struggle for her victory as a human-being, he must struggle for his defeat as a man. The norm that is inside of him, makes him blind to the goal that the revolutionary woman attains: the creation of the human-being. The concrete advantages of malehood obstruct his view on the for him unimaginable advantages of being human.

That is why the male revolutionary again and again swerves onto the territory that he can oversee, that of pure economy; that is why he denies the political in the personal, the sexual dimension of domination, his own involvement as a profiteer of the relations of power. That is why he falls back into petty-bourgeois idealism, in total personification, as soon as it goes about the contradiction of the sexes and his personal contribution to the abolishment thereof. As revolutionary man he acknowledges the societal conditions of human existence, raises the sentence 'the being determines the consciousness' to a dogma rather than denying it. But in the mean time he thinks

he can shirk away from history and states as stubborn as a child: 'But I'm not like that!' In the worst case all men are evil, but he is the friend and helper of women.

Women who struggle against the relation of power between women and men, women who have declared war upon the patriarchal norm, this tough and grim enemy of being human, women who want to radically abolish the ruling relations, the dominion in the true sense of the word, they have no need for male comrades who look upon themselves as their friends, but they have a need for male comrades who are prepared to become the enemy of the man.

Ingrid Strobl

(translation by us..)



The next article is a reaction on the article by Ingrid Strobl. This was published in 'Konfrontatie', a magazine from the Netherlands. The author is active in different feminist (action-)groups. We think this is a critic worth thinking about carefully.

The woman as walking womb?

Although I read through the article by Ingrid Strobl in one go and I could agree with her conclusion that - in short - men should be abolished, afterwards I had the idea I had been led to that over cunning paths and via some unpleasant side-paths. I had found myself constantly in places where I didn't want to be, and that can be quite irritating. This was surprising, since normally every "attack on and disproval of the biological differentiation-theory in all it's appearances" (as the article was announced) is able to cheer me up, because it supports me in my view that women and men don't exist in essence, but are 'products' of the social circumstances in which we find ourselves. As Simone de Beauvoir already said: you aren't born as a woman, you are made into a woman.

Since Strobl will probably agree with that -she makes similar remarks in her article- this means that something else must be the problem. It is my thesis that she has a blind spot concerning the real, material position of women and that this contributes to her remaining a captive of the story of her opponents. She has worked herself so much into the biologicistic explanations that have been given until now to justify the oppression and exploitation of women, that also in her analysis women again appear as a sort of walking wombs with an oppressed sexuality and a few more of those nasty things, on which my only reaction is: No, thanks!!

Back to nature.

And that although her article starts off so nicely with an, albeit somewhat untidy, attempt to describe patriarchy as a historical development, as a changing process that is (and was) characterized by the political struggle about the distribution of labour and of the profits thereof, about social positions and the interests that come along with that.

With that she shows that patriarchy is not an a-historical, static and thus unchangeable result of the fact that there are people who can become pregnant and people who cannot do that - there have been, as she also shows, times in which that didn't have such nasty consequences as nowadays. With that she still leaves the door ajar for an analysis that leaves room for an opposite explanation, namely that patriarchy may be the cause of the fact that such a severe distinction is being made between people on the ground of the posses-

sion (or absence) of a certain organ.

This open door, however, is being slammed shut again time after time by Strobl herself and with that the view on a change in the current gender-relations is lost also. At the first still unnoticed, but along the way ever more convincing, Strobl with her own hands brings us back all the way to nature.

'by nature'

Her first attempt to avoid the biological determinism is as follows:

"Seeing that women have the ability to bear children, they were socially entrusted with the task of reproduction as a whole, a burden that curtailed their social and political influence. If one however -like it happens in numerous, also feminist theories- reduces this fault to its origin, to be known as the biological difference between the sexes, then with this the reduction of the female to her biological gender is consolidated, and with this the necessary lie of patriarchy in its negotiation is adopted. These kinds of theories pass by the fact, that reproduction-work and social work are not something that is unchangeable, but that they have been changed and formed in course of time"

I don't want to enter here into the strange distinction that is made between social and reproductive labour, but want to point out that the ability to bear children is firstly brought into light as the cause of the social curtailment, after which Strobl - justly, but in opposition to this - states that if you take this as a starting point for a feminist theory, you only repeat the patriarchal biological reductionism. (1)

Strobl here halts on two opinions and in the rest of her article the situation doesn't improve much. However she pleads for a social analysis of physical differences, she doesn't succeed in doing so really because she understands biology as an independant factor and not as a historically determined category.

The next quotation is an example of this: "The ability of women to give birth causes also other burdens next to the load of pregnancy and birth, and *although they exist by nature* they are fitted in society as well; the monthly menstruation, but above all the permanent fertility of the female-human" (Cursives by the author)

The 'natural' and the social here appear as two separated worlds, who maybe can influence each other, but the female or-

gans are allotted so much independence that also the 'burdens', that according to her are also 'naturally' there, get to lead a life completely of their own, which leads to a packet of nonsense like you'd never dream of.

Societal concern.

Thus we find a 'permanent fertility' supposed by Strobl, which by her is declared to be the primary cause of the oppression of women. What d'you mean permanent? Even if women are fertile - Strobl neglects tiredness, stress, infections, hormonal disturbances as well as psychic mood, environmental pollution, use of medicines and various other factors that can influence fertility - then this is only for at the most half of their life, some 35 years. Besides, this supposed fertility doesn't have to lead to pregnancy and birth. There are lots of women who, although possibly fertile, don't let themselves be jumped upon by men or otherwise make sure they do not get pregnant: the successful struggle by women for the availability of various means of contraception and the years-long struggle for abortion (which is also still in Germany a hot item) don't appear in Strobl's history book. This makes women appear in her argumentation as a sort of passive egg-farmers who are in an elementary state of permanent fear of impregnation. The "continuous row of pregnancies and births" that are related to this (specifications as to time, place and women concerned are missing here) are in her view as well an attack on the body as on the social flexibility of women, but she names this 'fact' as a biological weakness. Now I can go along with the term weakness, insofar this means that the possession (and, in procreative meaning, the use) of certain organs or physical abilities has very negative consequences, but this seems to me to be primarily a societal concern. Just like the having of a certain skin colour, or other physical feature, is not a biological 'problem', but only attains meaning in and by the societal surroundings in which humans are living, this also goes for the ability to bear and drop young. It are the patriarchal capitalist selection-processes - and the ideological legitimations thereof - that contribute to a certain physical status or (in)possibility leading to subordination, exclusion, exploitation and oppression and not the features on their own; what is important are the consequences thereof.

The male wish

Strobl has - as a political activist - of course an eye for those consequences and

in these moments there reappears - happily - a certain liveliness into her story. Thus she describes in a clear way the psychic oppression and emotional exploitation that have taken form through means of the modern marriage. She thereby leaves room enough for the insight that the concept of 'romantic love' can be seen as an ideological pendant of the exclusion of women out of all branches of economy and the all-male organisations belonging to them, and the -(in this century) by all 'social partners' finally very fraternally granted- male wish to, from high to low, each have the availability over a free-working woman in the house, and even get extra reward for that too.

When, however, Strobl writes that "the price that the man had to pay (for this petty bourgeois ideal), was the lifetime-taking care of that one woman legally subordinated to him", then she reaffirms a myth, comparable to the myth of the capitalist welfare-society as it has been built up since then: Since when does the government scrub out the pots and pans? Does the state cook dinner? Or does the current 'tearing down' of the same welfare state actually means that women are finally lifted from their caring tasks?

Of course Strobl knows better than that, as is clear from her description of the labours that were once doled out to women: "She is birth- and sex-machine, she is house-keeper, room-maid and nanny, she is volunteer, refuge and at the same time piss-pole of the male, she is the object of his need for affection and for aggression." That women can also be something else than that is however not possible in her view. On the contrary, her method gets more and more reductionist. Even the above-mentioned 'reproductive' tasks - still a 'wide' palette - are sacrificed for that. Thus she still mentions the exclusive motherhood as an unjust societal occurrence -and disapproves of it in this form (2)- but she doesn't see it as such a serious problem as, again, the 'permanent fertility', because especially this has such severe consequences for the sexuality. Now I think that most women spend less time and energy on sex than on for example motherhood and that the latter is a much larger attack on their personal development and functioning, but Strobl doesn't hesitate to declare sexuality as THE elementary ground on which the battle of the sexes takes place and the oppression of women is formed. It is not very useful to state here that this terrain doesn't matter, but her ideas on sexuality I do not share.

Sexual alienation.

"Women experience," writes Strobl, "the permanent threat that solely by the sexual act they are hindered in their total way of living. This real experience of women has consequences for their societal existence - and for their view on sexuality. With sexuality the start of submission is given, when the man becomes aware of his power -to make the woman pregnant and thus weaken her."

On the one hand by this she reduces sexuality to the same logic that my christian schoolteacher used: sex = procreation = intercourse. On the other hand she ignores the fact that the fear, the displeasure, the threat that women can experience with this one-sided fucking are not only 'permanently' caused by the fact that in some cases you can get pregnant of it; or, like Strobl mentions elsewhere in her article, by the fact that fucking men in general behave completely autistic. What is more important is that fucking is, in this sexist society, the foremost symbolic and real expression of the total availability and the -literally- taking possession of the woman and by that, both in fantasy and in reality, both for men and for women, can hardly be distinguished from rape.

Just like the (I can hardly get the word out of my pen anymore) procreation, also heterosexuality cannot be seen separated from the social context: regardless of how much lust and pleasure a certain organ can raise in women, there is always a *man* attached to it and that is exactly the reason why many women abstain from a heterosexual practice. This has nothing to do with 'regulating the fertility', as Strobl wants us to believe, and for sure nothing with self-mutilation - rather with the rejection of that, I would say. (3)

The origin of the family.

Strobl's preoccupations with fertility and the 'deed' that can effectuate that even bring her so far as to not hesitate to - after having glued love onto it- state that this sacred trinity is the base of the bourgeois patriarchal power. After this she turns reality even more upside down by declaring the sexual relationship between men and women to be the foundation of the economical relationships.

And me, having always thought that the opposite was true. Because, otherwise, where does this violent sexual power-relation stem from? My opinion is that this is a result of the patriarchal capitalist production relations. The problem is, however, that Strobl has written women out of this relation. In her view women don't form a part of this. The oppression and

exploitation of women by men -which means that women do the most of the work and men profit thereof- is not seen by her as a social-economical problem, not as material reality with the ideologically, whether or not sexualised expressions, turn-arounds and disturbed relations that come along with that, but as something that belongs into another category and is governed by other relations. The fact that women also have a head and hands, and therefore grow food for the market, regulate traffic, work in illegal sweatshops, write dissertations, take care of the elderly, trade in the stock-exchange, herd goats, do plumbing, sell tacos or give swimming lessons is not only impossible in her theory, but seems to take place in a completely different world than the Realm of Reproduction where Strobl is camping out and where the ability to bear children is the cause that children are taken care of, dinner is being cooked and male egos are being polished. We're back all the way at 'The origin of the family'.

A complete human being.

You'd almost lay your tired head down, but not so our writer. You cannot deny her good intentions and perseverance; she keeps on trying to lift the gender-categories. Yet I think that her limited view on the position of women also has consequences for her analysis of the (revolutionary) malehood at the end of her article. She justly pleads for a more justified distribution of all the invisible Sysifus-labour, but thinks that men can only be brought to do this when revolutionary women (who else?) can convince them that it will make them into a more complete human being.

In this line there is much to do, because, as Strobl writes, "the concrete advantages of being male hinder his view on the for him unimaginable advantages of being human".

This is nonsense. I think men know damn well which aspects of women's lives enrich their lives and which don't. If women have never become more complete humans by doing utterly boring jobs, then men will surely not become that either by doing the dirty jobs. Of course the attention and cosiness that surrounds these jobs is another matter. Thanks to the unbounded energy that women still waste on men, a lot of them have in the last decennia indeed learned how to cry, how to show their feelings, how to cook pasta with pesto, how to drag along a baby on their belly ('oh, how cute') and have even learned that the personal is also political. Without a doubt a very pleasant extension of their existence, but how women can complement their own lives is something Strobl doesn't tell us. It even seems that



she thinks that the wish to change the female life with all kinds of pleasures and advantages connected to malehood is, in fact, something to despise.

"The statement", she writes, "that the notion of 'equality' with the man 'as measure of all things' is the same as the adaption of the woman to the man and thus means the levelling of gender, falls prey to the lie of the differentiation-ideology. Because by this the definition of the opponent is taken over and thereby his power is acknowledged; a power which also always entails the power of definition. The tertium comperationis is not the man but the human being."

To me it seems that the first condition for the liberation of women is just that the power of men is acknowledged. For that, some 'differentiation-thinking' -thinking about real societal differences between men and women- cannot hurt. If you want to abolish something, you'll really have to name that explicitly. Of course the 'tertium comperationis' in this is the man! If the man is not our measure, who is? The only way in this moment to ever get women so far as to conquer that what belongs to them, is for them to aim at those that possess that. Jealousy, envy and desire are essential qualities therefore; women can learn a lot from men in that field. Why should we be adverse to all those things that make their life so much more pleasant?

Not only is it necessary to ask men for friendliness to abstain from their manhood, as Ingrid Strobl does. I think that it's more useful for women if they declare war upon femininity ('Mother doesn't want strawberries, you take first').

Pauline Harmsen

(1) *Still something about these two kinds of labour: this is about the sexist trap in which socialist schooled feminists and feminist schooled socialist have fallen flat over the years, which makes it again necessary to ask the following question: Since when, how and why is 'reproductive' labour NOT societal labour? What is unsocietal about feeding, taking care of, listening to and fixing up men and children?*

The term reproduction acts veiling, as it turns out, when it comes to mapping out ALL usually invisible, underrated and un(der)paid labour that is done by women - both inside and outside the home, in the bedroom and in the office, both for one man as for several men. Besides from that, it also doesn't help in giving a non-biologistic explanation. For this we have to thank Marx & Engels. It was they who stated that the ability to bear children forms the foundation of the primary division of labour, that between men and women, which resulted in their pair of terms production/reproduction. We are warned!

(2) *As an alternative she suggests here however a nearly as exclusive task for the (biological) father; she does not see a role for (several) other adults, let alone for the children themselves: why don't the children liberate as well and raise themselves?*

(3) *This does not mean that the choice for an a-, auto- or homosexual practice automatically entails the sexual liberation that Strobl wishes so much. In a society that is so much through and through (hetero)sexualized, any sexual expression of lust(s) and desire(s) is by definition a 'burdened' if not 'conspicuous' matter (that in itself doesn't have to exclude different kinds of pleasure and satisfaction).*

This sexual alienation however cannot be defined as a more or less 'false' expression of a 'real' need that is temporarily lost. When Strobl writes that "under the construction of the ideology (...) there lives a real human longing for devotion, love and sexual lust", then she does exactly the same as with fertility: she puts it down as a, fundamentally, independent entity. But also sex is a historically determined category and has no essence that can be pulled out from under the dust of oppression. If ideology and reality could be separated from each other in this way, for sure the liberation would have broken out much earlier!

A dialogue with Beatrice from the colombian autonomous women's liberation movement, stepped down member of A Luchars national women's committee.

Beatrice is a militant of the political organisation A Luchar. At the 2nd convention of A Luchar in 1988 she stepped down of her "position" in the organisations national women committee. She and other women had demanded self-determination in the election of the women's representatives and this freedom was not conceded by the male dominated executive committee. Since then Beatrice is doing ground works in a women project with single mothers. An important part of her work is to build up a national women organisation. After 4 years endeavouring this national women organisation still do not exist. Together with her husband and child Beatrice lives in a working-class quarter of Bogota.



The political Organisation A Luchar was founded in 1984 by eight splinter groups as a militant answer to some guerillagroups' armistice with the government. Today, 6 years after the amalgamation, that started as a simple common basis, A Luchar is the oppositions' second strongest political organisation. In Mai 1988 A Luchar called up for a march of peasants, 100.000 peasants followed this appeal. A Luchar gives priority to extra-institutional struggle. (taken from the booklet: "Gramsci...")

WOMEN'S AND MIXED SEX

Question: Basically the laws of patriarchy are of the same kind all over the world but the forms of patriarchal suppression have a very different expression. In Colombia f. ex. for the very most women the material misery is very important. Would you describe the reality of the colombian women?

Beatrice: It's true, the vast part of the colombian women feel suppression because of their belonging to a certain social class; therefore a suppression on the basis of being peasant women, indian women, working women, slum-inhabitant. The specific forms of suppression as a women in a patriarchal society are coming in addition. The suppression expressing in the missing involvement in mixed sex organisations affects us women no matter whether we are poor or rich or of which class we are coming from. Therefore it is a very obvious and characteristic phenomenon that the involvement of women in religious, social and political organisations is low and this is actually not because women didn't want to be involved but because there have been no and are no conditions for their involvement. It has also turned out that our participation was welcome as long as it stayed passive and our participation was prevented as it became active.

So I think, that these two forms of suppression - the one as class and the other as sex, that are reflecting themselves in the economical, political, sexual and familiy - affects us about the same level.

This suppression is a day-by-day experience in the peoples-sector women reality. There it's normal that a women loses her partner because he is an activist, that the man mal-treats his wife, that she as activist is threatened by killer herself or that she experiences the violence of men against women in the neighbourhood. All this is daily-life.

We say that the human being of women is basically not accepted. An example of the extend of this fact: A man of the Left, who is a friend of ours, questioned if women of the peoples sector really have sexuality. For us it is important that the integrity of women's human being is accepted/recognized, in the mixed sex organisations as well as in the autonomous women organisations so that the picture of the "miserable creature women" who is not interested in sexuality, who first of all is only interested in material needs, in her and her childrens full stomach gets finally smashed. I don't mean to say that an intellectual women who has solved her material problems has problems of the same kind as a peasant women or a woman who is living in a slum.

This integrity means to develop consciousness about being women as a whole. The woman in a slum knows that there is a need for a kindergarden, that her children have a right to socialization and a right to something to eat. That is her direct experienced world and only together with the consciousness also an understanding develops that includes the direct needs and the aim of a different human society exactly the same. This is what Virginia Vargas calls the practical and strategical interests as sex. We believe that only starting from the definite needs of women we can get to a consciousness about these further-reaching, strategical interests.

The argentinian Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo who have struggled for getting back their children I see as an example for this. Because of their consciousness as mothers, life-creators, women because of their emotional relationships to her children - who are much stronger in our patriarchal society as the relationships from father to child - they have started to struggle.

And i believe that starting from these direct needs the consciousness about more basically demands like the end of sex determined division, the complete right of women on her sexuality the socialization of the housework, the eal political and social rights a.s.o. will develop too.

Question: You hve just talked about the basically changes of the society too. Don't you often feel a controadiction in practice in between struggling for an entire social change in a mixed sex organisation and besides that to

LIBERATION

ORGANISATION

be primary feminist. After all this mixed sex organisation you are working in is patriarchal determined further on. Don't you have thought about leaving the mixed sex organisations and to struggle only but in autonomous women organisations?

Beatrice: I think that, if you want to gain social influence, then you have to gain a place in the mixed sex organisation, in fact not only in the revolutionary and political organisation but in all. And they are still all patriarchal. On the other hand the autonomous women's organisations give us the possibility to strengthen us, to achieve consciousness, to build up a women's movement, to have much more women who are able to take on a leading position.

That's why I don't believe that we will strengthen our political role if we don't gain influence in the social movements, in the mixed sex organisations in the society as such. In its consequence this also means to be a sincere part of the social movements, of the mixed sex organisations even though we still have our structures. This means to join in sustaining certain points, of course not beyond a certain limit but just be a part of a mixed sex structure. This is one tactics to me that women simply use.

Of course such a participation is difficult. There exists the problem of the traditions, the orthodoxy. We were met in a reduced way, Problems get denied, in fact because men do not confront themselves with their behaviours, because they don't want to achieve knowledge about this topic and don't want to make up their minds about their role as men.

F. ex. some just assert that the working class (men) interprets the interests of all other social groups and fights for liberation in deputy of the other classes. Of course this is rubbish, because what can be expected from working class men who do not understand how much they exploit women at home.

Nevertheless by our work we have attained too that more and more men put themselves the problem of revolution also as one of a change between men and women. Together with them we see first signs for a common humanity project.

Question: But to maintain yourself in a vertical, patriarchal organisation don't you have to use the same methods yet too, don't you have to give up a good part of your own identity?

Beatrice: I don't know. It's true that we women have to wage a hard argument against authoritarian, vertical, patriarchal structures in the organisations. But on the other side the question after which forms of power is predominating, the question after horizontal structures is not only a question for women but for the entire society and a question in every moment.

But our experiences are not very old here too. I am f. ex. not very long time active in the feminist movement although I have struggled still very long time in other social movements. But after the experiences we have had until now I place great importance on these arguments we have waged in the organisations against hierarchy, patriarchy and rulers, for gaining consciousness about our autonomy and ourselves. After all patriarchy is no problem of the Left but a cultural phenomenon of the entire society, that the chief decides here and the others are following him. Here neither women nor men do possess self-determination. But the conflict with the patriarchs, especially the chiefs, makes possible a new new consciousness, an autonomous thinking of women, an autonomy also within the organisation as feminists. especially the acceptance as autonomous feminist part in a organisation is a break with orthodoxy and a step towards a new understanding of democracy.

We as feminists have fought very important and consequent struggles in the organisations. Two years ago we have refused the patriarchal structures at A Luchars 2nd convention, we have rejected the offers of power. At that



time the women for the executive-committee should be determined. We demanded 10 minutes time to decide among ourselves who should come into the executive-committee as our representative. These 10 minutes, therefore our self-determination in the organisation, have not been conceded to us. For us this was a prove for the absence of democracy, for patriarchal structures, for unbearable deciding processes in A Luchar. As a result we five of us together retired from the national women's committee of A Luchar.

I believe that we emerged very strengthened out of this struggle. We have waged the discussion with toughness and ideological determination and this was good for our consciousness. Besides we have also showed loyalty. We have said: "Comrades, we want to learn at your side, we want this common process, but if our space isn't conceded to us, we retire." But we also didn't leave A Luchar, we are further on part of this project.

We just went back to the basis to gain a strengthening of our position from below. It does not depend on the positions if we are part of A Luchar or not.

So I believe that this conflict we have waged in A Luchar certainly was no defeat for us. It has been a demonstration of the still predominating anti-democracy and an experience for us but no defeat.

Question: Isn't any participation in mixed sex organisations failed for you now?

Beatrice: No, it isn't failed. The struggle, and I think this is the correct word here, just starts for us. This is no end but the first of many battles

we have to fight. The debate shows us how much we have reached, just not only as feminists but also in building up a mixed sex political mass-organisation at all. It shows us if these organisations can be an offer for the social movements at all. I think that only in those struggles it gets clear if we are working in direction to a new power, to people's power or not.

Quite frankly, I am even satisfied, the bigger defeat would have certainly been to give up or to accept the executive committee's offer. On the other hand you have to realize too that here it is still frowned to be feminist and especially that we have declared ourselves in the organisation openly to be feminist has strengthened our position.

Question: I think it's interesting what you have reported about the conflict in A Luchar because A Luchar always declares its support for basis power and so on. It seems to be characteristic that especially in this question such intentions suddenly got disregarded. Do you believe that A Luchar as a basis-democratical project is now at an end?

Beatrice: No I don't. I believe that the struggle against patriarchal structures has to go on if we want an alternative power...

Question: Does it have to go on in A Luchar...?

Beatrice: Yes it does, within and outside of A Luchar. Certainly we are still not able to ask this question within A Luchar massively. That's why our primary aim is to consolidate our works, to exchange experiences, to come together as women and to acquire theoretical knowledge. We need time for our own process, to pick out our themes as a central topic on the whole. But certainly we see the missing points in A Luchar but not only there but within the entire Left and the entire social movements.

On the other side we think that we have not been bold. We still have not developed our own demands, the women's movement is just in the process of formation. It's true the women's project in Bogotá has the possibility to mobilize people but they are still no masses. We are facing the problem but there are also other opinions towards this topic who say that for the moment we should restrict ourselves on the individual consciousness-process. We think that this is important too but we believe that this can only work together with a movement that develops strength. I think that this will be a topic we will discuss at the national women's meeting which gets prepared at the moment by the autonomous women groups.

Altogether I would say that we don't understand our movement as addition to the political organisations quite definitely, but as an aim



for itself, as a guarantee, that women take on their role in this process in fact in every aspect; that every woman can decide for herself how she wants to take part. The women's organisations must not be abused for pushing women into the political organisations. They have to develop their independent, autonomous position.

Question: But nevertheless there is a scepticism about the mixed sex organisations and these projects of national liberation. For example, if we look at the experiences in Algeria. Women have had a key-part during the war where they have in fact organized the whole logistics but nothing has changed on their situation afterwards. Mustn't women doubt mixed sex projects because of that? Here in Latin-America there are admired guerilleras too but no equal treated participation in the organisations. What is your imagination about not to be deceived in a process similar to the women in f. ex. Algeria? Can you please explain this once again more precisely?

Beatrice: I believe that a political integral project includes that the relationship between men and women, between adults and children, between young and old change basically.

Anyway this question after a society of equality doesn't only concern the women but also the Indians, the homosexuals, the children and the people of colour. This utopia we have is an integral project for the entire humanity and as I have said before we don't stand on our own there. So we have to maintain our interests as a strong movement and together with other movements like the movements of the people of colour, the Indian's movements a.s.o. We will need women who put themselves on top of this process, who are able to lead. It is not the question at it if women are within the guerilla or not, if they are big militants or not. Weapons will not decide this

problem and it says nothing about a women's conception if she carries a weapon. I think it's just as little decisive if in this process we cook, wash, look for the children a.s.o.. The most important question is not what we are doing but under which conditions we are doing it and if we are exclusively doing it.

Finally we have also asked us the question if we need men as allies in the struggle against patriarchy. We have last discussed this in the collective. A french women, who is a friend of ours, has proposed that we should especially discuss together with those young men who have a lot of basically questions themselves. I believe that a discussion with men, with the aim to win them for a common target is correct in the occasion that they are interested to talk with us seriously. We don't need to talk with men who are ironical, who are making their jokes. This makes no sense. But we can quite imagine to have this discussion with men who are interested. It's true, there are only few of them but the more important they are therefore.

Question: There is an intensive discussion about the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. Some say that capitalism and patriarchy are very close connected to each other. Others think that they are two totally different problems, against which the struggle runs partly separated too. What is your opinion towards this?

Beatrice (laughing): I don't know... I think that the struggle against patriarchy is an integral part within the struggle against capitalism. Of course we don't believe that with the capitalist exploitation conditions abolition patriarchy will disappear at once. This is nonsense, of course.

But I also think that the one will not make sense without the other. The change is global, we cannot imagine how to split the struggles. If we as women f. ex. have an art and crafts shop here, the reason is not only to provide some women with a material basis, where we can be self-sufficient, it's also the point to raise the comprehensive consciousness against bourgeoisie's power who is responsible for the crisis and against this society system in general. You also will certainly not build up an union and struggle for better wages then. That's not enough.

Question: In FRG some feminists have developed the thesis that in reality instead of the proletarianization of labour which is foreseen by Marx and the revolutionary movements there is a "Hausfrauisierung" (Hausfrau=housewife) of labour. More and more unpaid work is done, people work more and more in unsecured employer relationships or produce things by homework. With that today the historical subject is less the traditional proletarian than the women and partly the "hausfrauisierter" worker. (worker who are working f. ex. in unsecured employer relationships) Do you share this opinion?

Beatrice: I would like to know more about the theoretical derivation of this thesis, we are not very well advanced in our theoretical discussions yet. It's obvious that the division of labour between men and women has been the first one, that it was the basis for everything that came afterwards and that this division of labour was only possible by the suppression of women. According to what we know this suppression exists long before the arrival of the Spaniard. Already the indian peoples have been patriarchal.

Concerning the irregular employer relationships I can tell that Colombias informal sector has grown severely and it is dominated by women. 60 % of the people working in the informal sector, who are mostly working in street-trading, are women. These women are doing this jobs not because their husbands want it but because otherwise the families cannot survive. The social relationships in the families are changing by that, of course. The women's role who have been at home before is changing in general. Worker's struggles may be important, but certainly it is the question today if it are only the worker who are the social subject. But I don't know if these questions will go as far as you have said before.

Question: a permanent contradiction that appears also in the things you have said is the one between small really democratic collectives and the necessity to subject certain rules concerning organisation, practice a.s.o. during the confrontation with the enemy. Of course it is obvious that during a confrontation that asks the question of

power certain things are simply no longer possible. Do you believe that we really have to accept these norms in the confrontation although we have different ideas?

Beatrice: I believe that guidance is necessary. there are women who say: "For what do we need the power?", but I believe we need the power for that things will change. It's also obvious that we need forms of guidance to come to power. By power (the understanding of power meant here includes power and ability) I don't mean power for its own sake but power as the vision of change, as force, energy... Of course the imagination of a group wherein all develop initiative, wherein is no more guidance and all do bring in the same as much, is great. But of course this is also dishonest because there are of course different developments, different levels of consciousness who lead to that some take more initiative than others. Of course we strive in perspective for that everybody can develop, that power as such disappears but as long as we are not in power we have to struggle for it as the power of changing things. And as long as differences in possibilities and developments are existing there will be forms of guidance. And in fact among us women too. Finally the political organisations and guerillas have to understand that the new society is no matter of force or violence. The contents are decisive...

Question: But don't you also see the necessity to have a fight with the regime on every level, so on the military level too?

Beatrice: Of course I do. The fact that a women in a Barrio has nothing to eat is violence as well as to be killed, as to die of an easy curable illness because there is no doctor. All these forms of violence are ordinary here, so that's why I think it's also self-evident that the women and men of this people have the right to defend themselves. The decisive question is the one after our mentality in defending ourselves. I hope it's not the mentality of a warrior.

Question: Would you finally summarize in short what the women's movement in Colombia is looking like in this moment?

Beatrice: There are different small autonomous groups and projects, some newspapers, some women who try to build up a national women's organisation and besides that even also the women who are active in the political organisations.

Question: Are the women in the autonomous groups revolutionary women?

Beatrice: No, only a few women are revolutionary. It is a pluralistic movement. I would say that every women asks the question after the change but only a few of them see it as an integral project of a new society. In contrast to them we see that we are not only connected to each other by women but also as social section, as suppressed class. But it is not the matter in the women's movement to get women to declare their belief in socialism, marxism or in social-democracy. It's even an independent autonomous movement.

To the theory "Hausfrauisierung" see: C. v. Werlhoff, Women, the last Colony, London 1988; in german: C. v. Werlhoff, Frauen die letzte Kolonie, Frankfurt a.M. 1983

We took this interview from the booklet: "Gramsci, peoples power and continental Liberation, Interviews with colombian revolutionists about perspectives and changes in Latin Americas liberation movements", Berlin 1990 ?. It can be ordered (only in german) at Kolumbien AG, c/o Lateinamerikazentrum, Crellestr. 22, 1000 Berlin 62. It costs 5DM & postage.



A Voice from Prison:

Women with HIV + AIDS



Dashima died of AIDS in prison, denied aerosolized pentamidine when it could have prolonged her life, attached to a respirator and shackled to her bed, metal chains on both hands and both feet. A prison guard was the last person she saw in her life.

Maria found out she was HIV+ from seeing "AIDS" in huge red letters on her prison file, reading over a guard's shoulder while she was being transported. No one had told her.

Carmen is living with HIV, worried that rumors about her will spread, that her "friends" will stop speaking to her, that her cellmates will force her to move. She is afraid to tell her family, worried about hugging her children and she feels she will die without ever being free.

JoAnn's friends who are HIV+ come to her in the middle of the night to talk, to cry from fear, worry, and powerlessness. Her brother is HIV+, too sick and too poor to come visit, and she knows she will never see him again alive.



These women's stories are tragically typical. Women prisoners with AIDS are among the most marginalized and forgotten of all people with AIDS. On the outside, women are the fastest-growing population becoming infected with HIV, and AIDS has become one of the top 5 causes of death for women between the age of 15 and 44, the leading cause of death for Black and Latin women. Even in the free world, the survival time from diagnosis for many women is half that of men; HIV+ prisoners live only half as long as PWA's on the outside. In prison, the vast majority of women who are HIV+ are Black or Puerto Rican, exposing the racism inherent in the entire criminal justice system, and specifically reflecting the disproportionate rate at which Black and Puerto Rican people are both incarcerated and infected with HIV. All HIV+ women suffer from near-invisibility because the AIDS establishment systematically excludes women from research, studies, and experimental drug trials. Even the definition of "who has AIDS" discriminates against women because many HIV-related, many women prisoners are never diagnosed as having AIDS until they die. At the least, many women are never even tested for HIV until their immune system is so compromised that "early intervention" or immune system enhancement is impossible. Medical care in prison is universally abysmal; the medical provided for HIV+ women amounts to criminal neglect. Blood tests and regular T-cell counts are impossible to obtain voluntarily; these are NO access to any drug trials for any prisoner. Almost without exception, AZT is the standard treatment available; even DDI is practically unavailable, and NO prison or jail facility for men or women utilizes any alternative treatments or acupuncture. As for prevention methods, condoms, dental dams, and bleach are almost uniformly contraband.



"Free Our Sisters! Free Ourselves!" women's demonstration to free Black Panther women in New Haven, Connecticut, 1969

So ist is at FCI-Pleasanton, a federal women's prison where all of our lives have been intimately touched by AIDS. Until recently, HIV has been relatively invisible among the 850 women here. HIV+ women who develop syptoms and are diagnosed with AIDS are transferred to the women's prison medical facility in Lexington, Kentucky. There has been NO AIDS education here at Pleasanton. HIV antibody tests are available both by request and as a periodic mandatory sampling, but there has been NO pre- or post-test counseling. There has been NO mention of AIDS at new inmate orientation, nor at the pre-release programs. NO special diets or vitamins are made available for HIV+ women; NO other treatments are utilized except AZT.

Some of this is now changing because of a new peer education program, PLACE (pleasanton AIDS Counseling and Education, with thanks to our sisters in Bedford Hills, NY, ACE program). In order for this group to be representative of the population here, the projekt was discussed in the Black Cultural Workshop, Four Wibds Cultural Group (Native American women), and the Latin Club: an AIDS education planning group was born. A psychology staff member had long been designated as "responsible for AIDS education", and he vecame the sponsor for the group.

Our first project was self-education, because we all different areas of knowledge and experience with AIDS. Not all of us can read well -or English-, so we began a search for educational materials that were easy to read, and for materials in Spanish, since 40% of the population here is Spanish-speaking. We tried

to find information specifically about women, and that answered our questions as lesbians about transmission and safe sex. From the beginning we have tried to make this our program-defined by women prisoners and our needs, and run by us, within the extremely restricted context of being in prison. In our self-education phase, this meant each of us taking responsibility for a very basic presentation on different aspects of AIDS/HIV. This wasn't easy for many of the women in the group; most of us have never formally spoken in front of even small groups of people. But in this process, we were also confronting deeper issues: empowerment and self-direction.

In women's prison, prisoners have no power over the tiniest details of our lives, and one of the main methods of control is to constantly treat us like children. (In some ways, this is just an extreme intensification of how women are treated in mainstream, heterosexual society, enforced in prison by threats, confinement, and physical violence.) AS women get institutionalized, we internalize powerlessness and infantilization. So the small steps of learning new information and presenting it to a group, or of figuring out goals and a program of AIDS education for our sisters prisoners, are really diant steps in the process of empowerment, commitment, and enhancing our self-esteem. Important lessons in sensitivity towards others are being learned, too: those of us who are more verbal or more "educated" are learning to listen to and learn from women of many different backgrounds. Together we are creating an environment where all of us can participate equally, which enriches us all.

As we become more educated about HIV, we developed a group perspective on AIDS as it affects us women prisoners. First of all, we believe that none of us are exempt from the effects of AIDS: we are all "at risk". 80% of us are mothers, 70% single parents: we are deeply concerned for our children, especially our sexually active teenagers, and we are worried about HIV transmission to future unborn babies. Many of us have been IV drug users, sharing works or trading sex for drugs, including inside prison. Few of us have illusions that our husbands or lovers have gone without sex while we've been locked up, so we will have to protect ourselves from their sexual encounters. Many women here have sex with male guards and are at risk because those guards are both promiscuous and don't use condoms. The lesbians among us realize that we, too, can be at risk depending in our sexual practices and drug use. Certainly most of us have family members or close friends who are HIV+ or who have AIDS. Because of this viewpoint of "universal risk" and therefore the need for "universal concern/education" we are trying to reach out to the entire spectrum of women here.

We are dedicated to another shared perspective that inform all our work: we believe AIDS should be treated as a chronic disease, not as a death sentence. This empowers the HIV+ women, and helps fight additional stress and depression in our already stressful surroundings. It means a creative emphasis in nutrition and exercise, and an ongoing intense struggle for better medical care and a broader range of treatments. In PLACE, we help each other maintain a positive attitude and fight for our rights.

As long as we focused on self-education, PLACE encountered no major opposition from the prison administration. As we became confident of our own knowledge, we developed a program of general AIDS education for the whole population. We made up a true-false questionnaire in English and Spanish which we will distribute to the whole institution just before we hold open forum discussion groups in our living units. We're in the process of producing a poster (with cartoons) and bringing in outside speakers from AIDS service/information agencies. We plan a series of AIDS video showings, and we've been granted permission to help with an AIDS education presentation at new inmate orientation.

It took us 4 months to win approval to distribute the questionnaire, hold the discussion groups, and display the poster. (Even then, the poster's cartoon talking about sex between women and how to clean works with bleach, were censored). Another proposal was officially rejected: that a list of PLACE members be provided by the medical staff to all HIV+ women, so they could choose among us if they wanted peer counseling. (Ironically that in a situation where prisoners' privacy and medical confidentiality is routinely violated by staff, the reason given to stop peer counseling is the Bureau of Prisons' "concern" over possible violations of confidentiality by inmates). Of course, we will continue to act as peer counselors

anyway, with or without official permission; this means the hugs we give to comfort each other will be illegal, instead of part of a permitted counseling session.

PLACE is still in its earliest stages of development, and we are grateful for the help and support we've received from AIDS activists on the outside. But most of the support has been the result of individual friendship, rather than a programmatic commitment from AIDS organizations to really advocate for prisoners with AIDS. Supporting our peer education programs and supporting prisoners with AIDS is a concrete way to fight racism in the AIDS movement, to build alliances with other communities affected by the AIDS crisis, and to meet the needs of increasing numbers of women with HIV. WE NEED YOU. Our peer education/counseling groups need videos, literature, and speakers. We need information about new treatments, and outside people willing to come inside the prison to provide unavailable services.

Most of all we need people on the outside to help us fight for human conditions in which to live - and die. Outside activists monitoring overall conditions for HIV+ prisoners could prevent another death like Donald Woods' - suffocated by a towel stuck in his mouth by guards afraid of contracting HIV from his saliva. AIDS advocates could prevent further disasters in court like the conviction of Gregory Smith - his original 2-year robbery sentence exploded into a 25-year sentence for attempted murder because he's HIV+ and allegedly bit a guard who was beating him. Prisoners need your consistent support in fighting against mandatory testing, and to uphold our right to confidentiality of test results. Segregation in housing HIV+ prisoners is still practiced in 18 state prison systems and numerous county jails - this denies people access to law libraries, recreation, school, family visits, good time, and other programs. We need your help to fight for all HIV+ prisoners everywhere to be housed in general population, with full access to all programs. And no one should have to die of AIDS in prison: compassionate early release could mean the difference between a person with AIDS dying alone, or being surrounded by friends and family. Early release might even mean prolonging a PWA's life. And all HIV+ prisoners need active assistance in finding jobs, housing, services, and treatments when they are released. AIDS service agencies and organizations: PLEASE RESPOND to the needs of prisoners with AIDS, both inside prison and upon release - so prisoners won't be forgotten and further marginalized - so we can re-join our communities and fight to live.

(by Linda Evans, anti-imperialist lesbian, political prisoner)

AIDS EDUCATION AND LESBIAN PRIDE

IN PLEASANTON

The following interview was for Queerradio, a week-long celebration of lesbian and gay political culture on CKLN radio, a Toronto FM station. Sunday Harrison, a member of the Bulldozer collective, spoke with Linda Evans from Resistance Conspiracy SiX.

LE: I'm sorry it took so long to get back to you. We had some police interference, unfortunately. Actually it's kind of a miracle that it happened at all - there was a major shakedown here and they scattered everything in my cell. It looked like a hurricane. Your letter was among the things that they scattered, and it took about two days to find it. Then they didn't turn the phones on, it was one thing after another. Forced spring cleaning.

SH: What support work should we be doing right now?

LE: The main thing we are urging people to do is to be creative and persistent in support for Mumia Abu-Jamal because his life is really in danger and it would be a tremendous loss. Canada doesn't have a death penalty, does it?

SH: Not at the moment.

LE: International support is very important and you have demonstrably a lot of connections with people in the U.S. so your support for him can have a ripple effect. Certainly that is critical.

More ongoing campaigns include support for Silvia Baraldini getting to Italy, Geronimo may get a new trial, Leonard may get a new trial.

SH: It's an honour to have you with us on CKLN as a part of Queerradio. What is your experience as a lesbian political prisoner, both within the antiimperialist movement and in the lesbian and gay movement?

LE: I think that the outpouring of support from the lesbian and gay community has been one of the things that has most surprised me and so we all (the R.C.Six) collectively have most appreciated because it's been a sharing of experience, and a learning process both for us inside and hopefully for some of our comrades on the outside. The fact that several political prisoners have come out as lesbian or as openly gay people has been important because I think it's really pushed a struggle against homophobia in the political prisoner support community of political repression. So that's been our own awareness from being inside prison of the seriousness of the AIDS epi-



demio and the need to work in whatever community you're in to fight AIDS and to fight for treatment and support for people who have AIDS. Hopefully the fact that many of the revolutionaries who are in prison are lesbian or gay men can bring an additional element of militancy, a recognition that the state is really who we have to fight to win our liberation as lesbian and gay people, and to realize some of the more serious implications of fighting for freedom for ourselves, our community and our families. And thinking about what this can mean in the context of a whole world struggle for liberation. It is, you know, very complicated at this point in history.

SH: You mentioned other political prisoners coming out, can you elaborate on that?

LE: Judy Clarke has been out as a lesbian almost since she arrested in '82 or '81, and that had a very important impact, because she was associated with the Black Liberation Army and has been very strong in her support for the Black Liberation movement throughout her whole history as a political activist. Laura Whitehorn and Susan Rosenberg were two of my co-defendants, and we were collectively able to really learn a lot from the lesbian and gay men who were supporting us, about what the connections are between revolution, lesbian and gay oppression, and of solidarity with national liberation movements and movements of self-determination. Those are some of the issues that we really need to develop and investigate for ourselves in terms of political dialogue.

SH: What relation do you see between the lesbian and gay movement and national liberation struggles? For example, is there a revolutionary component to lesbian and gay culture?

LE: You could tell me better than I could tell you at this point! I really hope so, because what we have to do is look at the kind of world that we ultimately want to live in, both as individuals in our lifetimes and what kind of society we want to build for future generations. We want to build a revolutionary society where there is no oppression, where people are not exploited for their labour, where there isn't any racism, where nationalities have self-determination and control over their own lives and their culture can be preserved. A society where cultural differences can have meaning and can be shared as a richness. In the U.S. there is a huge English-only movement, one of the most regressive, reactionary movements that exists, because it's going to rob all people of the richness of hispanic culture. This is culture genocide. The cultural genocide that Native Americans have faced is not just historic; it goes on every single day. We all are robbed of a tremendous amount of history and richness of culture when other cultures are destroyed. To me, the development of any kind of revolutionary women's culture, lesbian culture or gay culture has to be seen in the context of respect for other cultures and kind of a mutual process of sharing and learning. We have to fight for that as lesbians and gay men, and we also have to fight against our own racism and the racism of our movement in order to make those kind of concrete alliances in our day-to-day lives. We can build strong alliances where we can all move together towards the kind of society that we want to live in.

SH: That's a very empowering vision.

LE: I think people are afraid to be visionaries anymore. I have been told that I suffer from idealism but I'm really a very practical and realistic person. We have to have some kind of dreams that we want to fight for; you have to have hope and some vision of the future if you're going to be serious about making change, especially the kind of radical change necessary to address all the wrongs that the U.S. government, especially, has inflicted against the people of the world. In Canada you share some of the problems we have here, but Canada is not as imperialistic as the U.S.. Certainly the U.S. is imperialistic towards Canada.

SH: Canada has its own contradictions. One difference here is a third electoral party to the left of the other two.

LE: I used to be against fighting for reforms. I think that was wrong. I believe that we have to fight for reforms on a day-to-day level because there really are a lot of survival struggles going on, about racism, about education, about police brutality, about basic needs like health care, AIDS, housing. As revolutionaries we need to maintain some kind of con-



text that addresses the whole; that really addresses the issue of power and who has power in our society. I think that's very important for our lesbians and gay men, because we could view our oppression as being only by individuals, but actually it's very systematic and systemic. The system is our enemy because it reinforces the kind of hatred of gay people that we suffer from every day. I feel strongly that we have to keep that context in mind as we organize and as we do our work, so that we maintain a vision that's broader. But fighting for reforms can be part of legitimate struggle.

This is a time of tremendous attack against liberation movements all over the world, so it's hard to be optimistic, to maintain the hope that you need to really be serious about fighting, but it's not impossible. We need to strengthen that hope in each other. That's part of what building revolutionary culture, and revolutionary women's culture, can be about.

SH: Are you able to continue with that vision, that sense of community, inside?

LE: I have been very fortunate. I feel tremendous support and love from a lot of lesbians across the country and all over the world. I feel very much a part of the community, but unfortunately in kind of an abstract way. It's hard to be isolated as we are from the day-to-day ideological struggles, discussions of strategy, and warmth and friendship of day-to-day life. This government is very successful in how it builds its prisons, and I'm fortunate to be near San Francisco. I do have visitors, which a lot of other prisoners do not have. But sometimes no matter how hard I try and no matter how hard my friends and comrades try, my sense of community gets a bit abstract.



SH: What about other dykes and sympathetic straight women inside?

LE: one of things will put us together more than anything is that we've started an AIDS education group here at Pleasanton. There are HIV-positive women in the group, and women, both lesbian and straight, who have family members or friends who are HIV-positive or who have died of AIDS. We're breaking down some of the walls between lesbians and straight women here.

SH: So AIDS is the catalyst for that?

LE: Very much so.

When I first came here, there was no AIDS education whatsoever, no counselling before people took an HIV test. I went to the different cultural groups here at Pleasanton and explained my own experience at the D.C. jail where I was a peer educator and counsellor for people with AIDS or who were taking an HIV test. A number of women from each group, the Four Winds Cultural Workshop, said they would commit themselves to helping build an education project which we are now in the process of doing. In prison your relationships are constantly under attack by the administration, so lesbians are closeted. Sex is illegal. You can go to the hole, you can be punished, lose your job, lose your cell, lose a lot of good time so that your sentence is prolonged. Physical displays of affection are illegal, so you can't even hug a friend who is crying or who has received bad news in the mail, etc. Pleasanton used to be a co-ed institution, and at that point it was legal for men and women to hold hands, but now that it's all women it is illegal. There's a kind of subtle ways that the real discrimination against lesbians plays out. The attitudes of the staff vary a great deal but are almost uniformly anti-

gay. We experience a lot of negative remarks, both from staff and other prisoners, some of whom are bigots, especially the white women. This a tremendous amount of racism here. It's one of the hardest things that I've had to deal with. The cultural organizations are all active, and basically pretty apolitical, although they do sponsor things like Black History Month and various special events.

There are 800 women here, it's extremely overcrowded, and there are a lot of problems. A tremendous number of women have a history of being abused their whole lives, either sexually or physically. There's no group for them. Prison is not geared toward rehabilitation, or any kind of counselling or real help, and one thing I hope I will be able to do as a political prisoner on a very individual and unfortunately minimal level is build some empowering relationships with other prisoners so that within the limits of being in prison we can help each other as much as possible.

SH: It's been an honour to talk with you today.

LE: Listen, the honours mine. This honour business (laughing) tends to put people on a pedestal. I'm an ordinary person. I made choices in my life that were about commitment, dedication and struggle for revolution, but I believe those choices are accessible to everyone and they don't have the consequences they did for me. We're human beings, not much different from any of you.

Political activists should realize that prison is not the end of your life. It's not something to be mortally afraid of. It is important to have goals not defined by fear the state or fear of going in jail. I hate being in prison, and I'm struggling by every means I can to get out, from legal remedies to political organizing.

We struggle very hard inside to be productive, to be political, to be in contact with our communities. The government is trying to make our world as small as possible, to make us feel weak and discouraged, but your support enlarges our world.

(Prison News Service, July/ August 1991)

LINDA EVANS



Leonard Peltier and Big Mountain:



This year, 1992, marks the 500 year anniversary of the Columbus expedition, which many governments and corporations are celebrating as "An Encounter of Cultures". The counter-movement to this, loosely organized under the banner of "500 Years of Resistance", seeks to counter the prevailing mythology about the Columbus voyages, and many people in Europe and the Americas are organizing cultural and educational events towards that end:

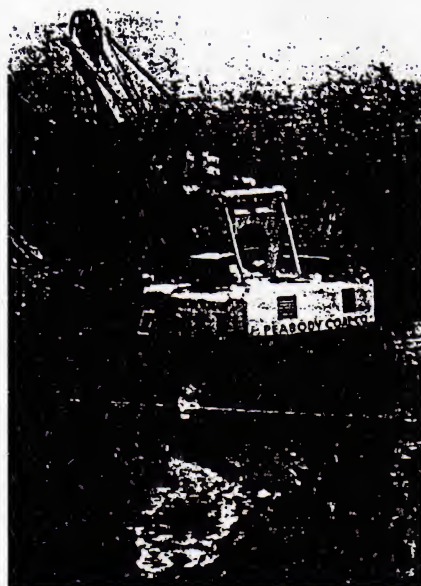
The indigenous people of North America are survivors of a holocaust of immeasurable proportions. Re-examination of American history is a moral necessity for the US as a whole, and a difficult thing for the individual. On the one hand, when many non-Indian people look at events of the past, they cannot help but acknowledge that what occurred was an atrocity motivated by racism and greed, and many people see cause for shame. On the other hand, we all know we cannot change the past, most of us like to think that given the chance we would surely do better, and furthermore most Americans have been led to believe that all these bad things ended with the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. Consequently, many people feel there is little or nothing to be done about it now.

If this examination of the past is going to have any meaning for the future, however, it is necessary to look beyond 1890 and also assess the fate of Indian people in the 20th century, which is nearly over, and about which most non-Indians know next to nothing. The Indian Wars did not end 100 years ago but have continued throughout this century, in a more sophisticated form but with just as disastrous consequences for Indian people.

A few general points must be borne in mind in any discussion of these issues. First of all, it must be remembered that treaties are the

supreme law of the land and they are made only between sovereign nations. The US does not make treaties with individual states or minority populations. This is a fact often forgotten or trivialized and this issue of native sovereignty is at the heart of every traditional land struggle in North America. Secondly, when the reservation system was set up, Indians were pushed into the lands nobody else wanted because those lands were not arable or good for grazing. In the 20th century it was discovered that most of the nation's mineral reserves (coal, shale oil, natural gas and, most importantly, uranium) lie under this undesirable land.

So once again, Indian people found themselves in the way of progress. Which leads to the third point, which is that the US government has throughout the 20th century colluded with private interests, particularly the energy conglomerates, in order to violate every treaty made with the Indian nations and thereby get its hands on the little land these people had left. A central plank in this strategy was the establishment of the tribal council system, which gave the appearance of Native autonomy but was in fact controlled by the Department of Interior. Tribal councils were opposed by most Indian tribes, but they are the only Indian voice recognized by the federal government and they are empowered to do nothing but sell or lease tribal land. The US government has made it clear that it will stop at nothing to get this land. In recent years it has acted with particular ruthlessness at Big Mountain in Arizona and Pine Ridge, South Dakota.



Big Mountain is one community in the Black Mesa region of the Navaho Reservation where right now, today, hundreds of Dine families (Dine is the traditional Navaho's name for themselves) are facing imminent forced removal from their homes on Indian land so that Peabody Coal can expand its Black Mesa operation, already the largest stripmine in the world. These people, who live in some of the last traditional Native communities in North America, have been fighting relocation for the past 16 years.

In 1974 Congress enacted Public Law 93-531, which mandated the relocation of 10,000 Dine people. This was supposedly done to

The two situations briefly described here reflect a pattern whose outlines can be traced all over the continent. The Columbus Quintcentennial is undoubtedly raising the issues of historical injustice and cultural genocide, but these issues are being raised with all eyes squarely on the past. Our crocodile tears will not help Crazy Horse and will do even less for his descendants. Reality in Indian country today means nearly total unemployment and forced sterilization and forced relocation and malnutrition. It means having the highest rate of infant mortality and the lowest life expectancy. It means chronic injustice and political assassination. All these things are acts of war, pure and simple, and the citizens of the US need not only recognize that these things occur, but also recognize the degree to which they profit from their occurrence. This is especially true of people who count themselves as part of the movement for progressive social change in this country, because the moral integrity of the movement, like the moral integrity of the nation, rests with its ability to face the wrongs still being done to the Native people of North America. The struggles to stop relocation at Big Mountain and gain justice for Leonard Peltier are both good places to start.



500 Years of Resistance Continues

resolve a land dispute between Navajo and Hopi, who have lived side by side for centuries. But the dispute was a hoax, fabricated in order to secure title for the execution of mineral development leases on Black Mesa. PL 93-531 was itself the capstone on several decades of lies and legal maneuvers too numerous and complex to describe here. There also isn't space to describe the fate of the thousands of Dine who have already relocated, more than half of whom are now homeless, or the hardship and harassment endured by those who have chosen to remain on the land. Suffice to say that in 1980 the Fourth Russell Tribunal, convening in Rotterdam, ruled that PL 93-531 violated the convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as well as five other international human rights covenants.

Nevertheless, it remains the law of the land. Relocation was supposed to have been completed by July 8, 1986. Things have moved slowly in part because both Peabody Coal and the US government have maintained a public posture that none of this is happening, but things are coming to a head very quickly. The Bush administration wants it all wrapped up this year because Peabody Coal has negotiated some big deals with Japan which require immediate expansion, and the sale of this coal is expected to significantly narrow the trade deficit with the Japanese. So we have every reason to believe that the ax will fall for good in the summer of 1992, and the dramatic increase in harassment of people on the land last fall bears this out.



LEONARD PELTIER

The Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota sits on top of the largest uranium deposits in the US. Uranium mining has long been opposed by the traditional Lakotas but in the early 1970s Pine Ridge had a tribal council headed by a man named Dick Wilson who favored uranium development and routinely murdered or assaulted his opponents. This situation led the traditional Lakotas to ask the American Indian Movement (AIM) for help, which resulted in the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. In the backlash of the next three years, scores of Indian people at Pine Ridge were murdered and hundreds more were victims of violent assaults. The vast majority of

these crimes have never been investigated, even though the FBI had jurisdiction and maintained at the time its highest ratio of agents to civilians found anywhere in the country. The FBI was in fact providing Wilson's vigilante squad with intelligence about AIM members and an impressive array of military assault weapons because the federal police were massed at Pine Ridge for the express purpose of destroying AIM. This reign of terror reached a climax on June 26, 1975, when two FBI agents opened fire on an AIM camp near Oglala, South Dakota, initiating a shootout in which both agents and an AIM member named Joe Stuntz were killed. Predictably, Joe Stuntz's death has never been investigated. In addition, on the day of the shootout, Dick Wilson was in Washington, DC illegally signing over one-eighth of the reservation for uranium development.

The deaths of the two agents led to more terror at Pine Ridge and eventually AIM member Leonard Peltier was sentenced to two consecutive life terms for aiding and abetting in their deaths. He has spent the last 15 years in federal prison for a crime he did not commit, convicted and sentenced on the basis of evidence and testimony which the government acknowledged over a decade ago was false. Leonard was recently denied an evidentiary hearing in his latest effort to get a new trial, and there is now a renewed effort to get Congress to convene hearings on the matter.

To this end on the following dates we are calling for coordinated:

INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF ACTION

June 26th 92

- Anniversary of the Oglala shootout -
Day of action to Free Leonard Peltier

July 6th 92

- Anniversary of the relocation deadline at Big Mountain -
Day of action for Big Mountain

October 12th 92

**Day of action in honor of 500 Years
of Ongoing Native Resistance in the Americas**

There are many ways of getting our message across on these days, including protests (vigils, marches, speak outs, street theater, pickets, letter writing campaigns, etc.), benefits, educational events and more. Please join in these days of action in any way that you can. If you plan to participate please send information about your activities to: Support for Native Sovereignty, P.O. Box 2104, Seattle, WA 98111.

For more information about Leonard Peltier or to donate towards his legal expenses etc. contact: The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044, 913/842-5774.

To donate directly to Dine resisters at Big Mountain contact: Support For Future Generations, P.O. Box 22134, Flagstaff, AZ 86002. Another group involved in direct aid/direct action projects at Big Mountain is The Veterans Peace Action Teams, P.O. Box 743, Winslow, AZ 86047, 602/289-4460.

Authors: Mary McLaughlin (Seattle Leonard Peltier Support Group), Arthur Miller (Bayou La Rose, Red Knife Defence/Support Committee), and Pete Murney (Support for Native Sovereignty, Seattle Big Mountain Support Group)

Unite against the '92 World Economic Summit in Munich

The powers of the 7 most powerful states of the world gather in Munich, FRG, during the 6 - 8 th of July to hold on the '92 World Economic Summit. During the 3 - 8 th of July there are several public actions of the resistance planned :

**Mass demonstration
on the 4th of July in Munich
against the summit**
starting rally at 13.00p.m. at the Marienplatz

On Saturday the Anti - Congress will be interrupted in order to take part in the demonstration. The invited speaking people and the co-working people of the congress shall walk at the top of the demonstration to lead it. There will be a women's and lesbian part of the demonstration. There will be an internationalistic part of the demonstration, which the nationwide left-radicals meeting is mobilizing for. This part of the demonstration shall express, that "the history of resistance and liberation is not at its end,

people being resolute to set resistance and liberation against the ruling Worldorder.

**International congress
against the ruling Worldorder during
the Summit at the 3 - 5th of July taking
place at the Ludwig Maximilian
Universität in Munich.**

The congress creates the possibility to discuss with people from rank and file and liberation movements about both our and their experiences in struggle, to discuss our common perspectives in front of the background of the new world order structures and to work out new ways of solutions for them.

**Some aspects out of the
congress' orientation:**

The congress is meant to delimitize in a public way and to attack politically the official summit. / Various analytical attempts and the discussions shall work out the responsibility of the governments of the G7 for the ruling states of affairs in all over the

Ozeania, Easturope and migrants on the one side and the enemies of the Worldorder coming from the Metropoles on the other side will be strived. If it's possible, migrants and members of liberation movements from the south should work on the preparation, too. One of the goals also is to bring the communication forward between the different social and political movements inland the FRG. / The special parts of the FRG (the host nation) and the EC are subjects in the single forums. / Alternatives, strategies and forms of resistance in order to get over the old 'new Worldorder' shall be given a lot of space.

The course of the congress:

In the evening of the 3rd July the congress begins with speaking people to the themes : ecology (Vandana Shiva), World economic (Noam Chomsky), Easturope (Andre Gunterfrank), Racism (Fatima Hardtman) and 500 years of colonialism/500 years of resistance.

On the 4th of July there are 7 several forum, that are divided in different working groups, too. The forums : Racism/migration; 500 years of colonialism/500 years of resistance; ecology; women's forum; World ecology; Easturope; Protection to power.

On the 5th of July the forums again shall take place. And during a common final event single representatives from the forums shall shortly present the results, claims, summaries out of the forums.

**Actions days
during the 6-8th of July in Munich**

The action days are supposed to express in a variety of ways the various aspects of repression and resistance.



that our ideas and discussions about a delivered society are ongoing to exist, that there're struggles against oppression and exploitation worldwide, that they're referring to each other and that we're still a political factor here."

In Munich there will be a possibility of allocation of sleeping places. Organize the far travel ! Demonstrate that we're a lot of

world. / There're speaking people preferred to be invited, who develop resistance out of their analysis. / At least 50% of the invited speaking people shall be women. / Patriarchal structures and sexism have to be taken up in all of the forums. This can't be the task of the women or the women's forum only. / The communication with equal between the resistance from Asia, Africa, Latin America,

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Anti-WWG Koordination
Holzstr. 2, 8000 München 5
tel. 089/268123

Anti-WWG Info 1992
c/o "3. Welt"-Haus, Westerbachstr. 40
6000 Frankfurt a.M. 90

Spain: To subjugate resistance has a 500 year old tradition - The spanish state celebrates the EXPO' 92

Introductory remark:

These informations are compiled out of several leaflets. So we have a request to our spanish comrades. We would like to have direct info-material, estimations and statements about the campaign "Demascaremos '92" because we got a lot of informations second hand and we have none about the ongoing discussions in the resistance.

The 500 years jubilees and the consolidation of the EEC fall on the same date: 1992

The 500 years old colonial history of genocides, plundering and conquest of Africa, Asia, America and Oceania headed by the european and US-american countries should be blotted out. 1992 shall be dated as the US-american and european imperialism jubilee and this history shall be presented as "Encounter of two worlds" to start a new round of colonization, genocide, inner and outward wars: The new world order

Spain has to play an important role in this year. On one hand the european invasion into America starts from this country and on the other hand Spain goes for EC's hinge to Latin America: The latin american government chiefs will arrive for an ibero-american meeting in Madrid in July '92, will go to the openings of the Olympics at Barcelona afterwards and finally visit the EXPO' 92 in Sevilla. 12.000 cops, security agents and Anti-Terror squadrons have the task to prevent each public resistance against the 500 years festivities and EXPO' 92. Obviously each counter-publicity shall be prevented by any means. Within Spain, but also in the foreign countries the impression shall be given that the whole spanish people unopposed support the capitals and masters jubilees.



L' ENCUENTRO INTERNACIONAL DE LA SOLIDARITAT

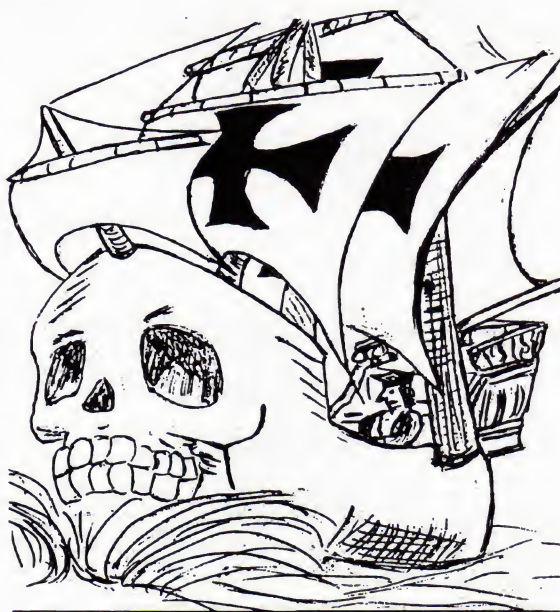
From April, 16th to April, 24th an international solidarity meeting should have taken place in Sevilla, in framework of the campaign "Let's unmask 1992".

The topics were: EXPO' 92, 500 years colonization, Fortress Europe and North-South conflict. At that time also action days have been planned. The action days should support the activities of americas indian and black population in their campaign: 500 anos de resistencia indigena y popular" and to express the national and international resistance against imperialist and patriarchal projects of the rulers and against the world-wide developments.

Already before the international meeting it was known that all planned public activities and the camp, at which 90 people from several countries took part, will not be allowed. A demonstration, spontaneously organized after a solidarity concert was brutally attacked. Some demonstrators were seriously wounded by shoots. Others were beaten down brutally and more than 30 people arrested arbitrarily. A protest demonstration of indigenas from Latin America during the opening ceremonies of the Expo the next day was also attacked and crushed by muffled-up anti-Terror squadrons. Again about 30 people were arrested. A camping site nearby Sevilla, at which many of the congresses participants camped, was evicted and 23 people arrested. After four days except for 26 all of the more than 80 imprisoned got acquitted of the accusations "Disturbance of public order", "Violence against things and persons" and were taken on remand pending deportation immediately. After 6 days, at April, 25th, they got deported over the border to France without judicial hearing.

At May, 6th, the german and austrian people in custody and at May, 7th, the

people in custody from Spain and Euskadi were released after 3 weeks. Within half a year and up to two years they all are in store of trials. Every 2 weeks they have to report at the local authorities and are not allowed to leave their countries.



The Campaign "Demascaremos 1992" Activities in Spain 1992

July, 23rd.-24th in Madrid:

Mobilization against the intervention to install an area under iberian economical influence in Latin America. At that time a conference of ibero-american heads of states will take place.

September in Gasteiz (Vitoria):

Mikelin '92: Festivities in order to support the demand for independence in Euskadi.

September in Madrid:

World-Congress of Alternative Energy in parallel to the official World Energy Congress organized by the World Energy Office in Madrid.

October in Madrid:

International Congress on social movements.

December in Madrid:

International Meeting about Common Market, Land, Environment and Society.



TO THE HEARTS A FIRE

Some thoughts not just about the 500 Years / WES Mobilization.

KEIN FRIEDE

In this text, we want to present some of our thoughts and take part in the mobilization against the 500 Years celebrations and the World Economic Summit (WES).

We have tried to develop some concepts to judge our progress and by which we want to be measured. We will refer to aspects of the discussion so far and say what we think. Furthermore, we want to deal with many of our basic political questions, which we feel to be relevant not just in light of 500 years and the WES mobilization. Naturally, we are unable to fully answer these questions. Our ideas must be fragmentary because of the disorganized and splintered nature of the discussion. Our goal is to change this.

More than ever before, today is about finding a new constitution of forces, finding a new way forward. The mobilization against the WES will also benefit from an intensive discussion, evaluation and search for solutions in advance and not just in Munich. If no communication structures are set up or preparations made in the cities to link up in advance then the mass rush to the Munich demo and the action days - which may be possible regardless - will be an illusion. Vice versa, of course that does not mean that structures, etc, could

not be built inde-pendently of the mobilization against the WES.

We ourselves think too often schematically: "Practice comes from discussion, no discussion without practice." Can we even make a basic discussion about strategy the prerequisite for taking initiatives beyond the local or every day level? Don't we talk too much and do too little as it is? Endless meetings are dominated by one contradiction: that on one hand some are scared of their concrete idea for an action being talked to death, while others are afraid that once again only an organizational and technical discussion will take place. We must keep reminding ourselves of what we all experience in order to change it. Our modes of behavior and ways of thinking have degenerated into fixed patterns. This has a lot to do with the unresolved prerequisites - with the very basis of our meetings. We come from a wide range of discussions and practices and do not know what every group does, thinks or plans to do. If we place our main emphasis on analysis and discussion in the "500 years/WES mobilization" (and not just there!), then

* "Metropolises" = 1st World, USA, Germany, etc vs "Trikont" = The three continents of the Third World, Asia, Africa and America).

only because this appears the most difficult thing of all to us; and not because we are only concerned about that aspect.

We have questions and aims independent of the rulers' time tables, but what the rulers are up to is not something we can ignore.

We feel: There is a need for change and we have to take steps now. We can not wait. Various trends come to a crossroads in 1992 - and we have to be there: with our ideas, plans and initiatives. What happens this year is also a testing ground whether we as leftists in the metropolises (*) - especially here in Germany - are able to learn from our history. Are we able to create a basis to even begin to stand up to today's challenges? The key is to start.

The social and international ground rules have changed. Therefore, our politics also need new orientations. A new phase of struggle must start.

Whether or not we are able to build/reorganize depends on whether all those at the bottom of the pile, those trashed and condemned as useless, express their hatred in indiscriminate violence or turn this hatred against those in charge, and so commit themselves to life and a meaning to living.

The crisis of the Left, their stagnation, results from the specific conditions in the various countries but it is also world-wide because if the totally new global situation. The metropolitan societies have changed form, the imperialist power center has expanded. The trend is more and more to one world, in which untenable realities exist alongside each other, realities that have no connections with each other any more: The reality of the capitalist system (the winners) and the reality of the peoples and marginalized masses (the losers).

Societies are being driven apart horizontally and vertically world-wide. The social, cultural and political contradictions increase proportionally to the power which has broken away from the social body and become polarized. The logic, interests and aggressiveness of the capitalist elites determine the pace of today's political, economical and social developments. These developments are increasingly characterized by destruction, corruption and violence. Violence is shaping the people of the 21st Century and finds its expression even in the opposing culture to the rulers. Here it is sometimes even much more potent. The market is driving these developments as a whole and this means that every step taken by capital is also a reaction - crisis management so to speak - of conditions created by capital. The repercussions are world-wide chaos and collapse.

This is the basis for us to redefine our political and social goals and this is the reality we have to change.

In the past years and decades we always believed we had clear answers to the question "What is revolutionary politics?" We often drew these answers up in "political platforms" or "lines". We analyzed the objective developments and discussed models. This was often one dimensional and proved its fragility no later than when the content of our struggle could no longer be felt in our actions, discussions, organizations and relations.

We no longer had the starting point that we could liberate ourselves from the dirt and the deadly machinery of bourgeois society and that it was a matter of our life and death to do so. In our struggle there was still a declaration of the subjective and social dimension, but in reality this was pushed into the background. The longer we were "active", the less important our motivation became; why each of us, why she or he stood up: The desire to change absolutely everything. We don't need to list justifications for this development: We all have heard them in one form or another - even if only a banal "you can't have everything at once."

We think that the question, "What is revolutionary politics?" has to be answered differently today. The answer, our practice, must contain more than an attack on present conditions. It must

contain the repossession of life. We must repossess the subjectivity that has been stolen from us and suffocated in the competition and flow of goods and release it in social organization.

All politics are dead, if they refer only to a public-state sphere. The definition and dissection of life, struggle and relations into "political" and "unpolitical" or "private" is bourgeois politics; power seen as divorced from the social relations between the peoples, classes and sexes.

The torn nature of our reality even in trying to stand up against that reality - the self-alienation from perspectives of liberation in our lives and the withdrawal from social contradictions just do not figure into it. To reduce Marx: we think "that the revolution is not only necessary because the ruling class cannot be brought down by any other means, but also because the revolting class can only free itself from all the old filth and become capable of founding a new order via the revolution". We still translate that at the moment with: Take back every inch of solidarity and humanity in every social and private corner from this system of surplus value production, "Hit them in the mouth", "This is our life, our land" and: in the world system of imperialism we have to stop the barbarism here.

AGAINST THE WES AND THE "500 YEAR REICH"!

The WES takes place in a year where the conquest of the American continent by white European colonialists has its 500th anniversary. The master nations are celebrating this event with massive pomp and ceremony.

These celebrations are not only an insult to all the victims of European colonialist slavery. 500 years of colonialism have culminated in the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC). The co-incidence of these two events is not coincidental.

European capitalism would never have been able to develop to the extent it has without exploiting the "New World". The necessary capital was imported by

the gold and silver ships. The European capitalists would never have been able to extend their advantage without the neo-colonial world economic order, without unequal trade relations and cheap wage production in the factories of the world market. 1992 then, not only sees them celebrating their past successes in producing their wealth; their public pride about these successes also announces a new goal: another 500 years...

The natives call for uprisings and general strikes against the "500 year Empire".

And what about us on this wealthy island in this world order?

The seven leaders of the most powerful states are meeting for a WES in Munich from 6-8 July 1992. The 1992 WES is only one event in a chain of conferences, celebrations and (also) crisis meetings. It is taking place on a back-cloth of 500 years of colonial barbarism (the basis for this world order), the rise of Germany to a superpower, the creation of an internal market, the political union of Europe and the collapse of the soviet system. The racists and fascists have grown confident both in the institutions and on the streets. Sexist oppression and violence is on the increase. Homelessness and misery are also on the rise in European cities.

Today a world-wide capitalist economic system has developed, which is without parallel - also in its destructiveness - in the history of humanity. A new era has begun, and already human living conditions have been destroyed or large parts of our environment irreparably damaged.

There is no political order that fits the international powers of capital except for a world state which cannot come about because of the internal laws of capitalism. This limits bourgeois crisis management and is a constant source of new conflicts. This applies to both the poor colonies in the South and to the metropolitan societies. The massacre of the Gulf War was the most brutal expression of this development over the last decade.

Epidemics and hunger for millions in Africa, Asia and Latin America, nationalist civil wars in Eastern Europe, expulsion and flight throughout the world are not natural disasters. As long as the causes of this development are not overcome, - so long as capitalism is not

abolished - this inhuman spiral will continue. Neither Bush's "New World Order", nor a Green or Social Democrat concept of "Ecological Realignment", let alone any "World Treuhand*" or "Global Revolution" as foreseen by the Club of Rome will change this.

These politics see human beings only as a problem, as a mass to be regulated and controlled. As a result, all these "solutions" are essentially totalitarian education programs on a global scale, controlling systems with dictatorial patterns. These solutions recognize the problems, but are only able to imagine a resolution of these problems in categories of power, domination and oppression. Their criticism of the industrial societies' politics only produces world-wide prescriptions for retaining the market and trade relations,

**"Treuhand" is the name of a German government body set up to administer the "rationalization and privatization" of East German industry in the wake of the fall of the Wall.*

which respect ecological criteria. There is no intent for real social transformation.

To confront the kings of the world economy, and that means the rulers of the world, with protest and resistance in Munich is one way to declare our opposition to this world order. There are also action days and a big anti-conference planned in addition to the mass demonstration. We see all three forms belonging together as a political unit. Just as the mobilizations against the world economic summit and against the 500 years celebrations in October belong together. We see this as an opportunity to come together with people from the grass-roots and liberation movements in the Trikont, Eastern Europe and the Metropolises, to discuss their and our experiences and perspectives in struggle and to unite in action. In this way we can all comprehend reality and change it. That is the strongest motivation for us to participate in this mobilization.



**"We have to scratch victory out of the ground
and nothing will be forgiven!"**

(Nazim Hikmet)

OUR STARTING POINT:

Capitalist reality in Germany is characterized more and more by the "Time is Money" mentality of bureaucratic elites and the blunt brutality of street nazis, who are gaining ground. The radical Left appears to be living in a world of its own. It is in a vacuum and is incapable of developing real social alternatives and ideas. The immense potential for these ideas in the people; the knowledge and creativity for rational solutions are constantly emptied of their content by state and capital. These ideas are themselves marketed in a diluted form. Take, for example, the concrete advances of the Anti Nuclear Movement and the growing consciousness for the environment. Today you can buy denture cleansers with a bio-formula and the Bio-General (*a German household cleaner*) is on the march. Soon we will probably see a Bio-Police and Green Helmets (like the UN Blue Helmets).

Much of our present activities do not entail any social utopia. They are essentially defensive. The flashes of solidarity, the instances of social and cultural identity free of dominance and exploitation that do occur in our anti-racist work, our squats and occupations of centers, the common struggle with revolutionary prisoners, etc., are far from being continual. There is also a total lack of any political concept or strategy for social transformation.

The gaps in this new identity that we have created in struggle result all too often in resignation. The lack of a comprehensive definition of metropolitan reality.

The metropolis is dominated by the production of goods and ideology. The metropolis is like one huge factory, where the general living conditions for the people are subordinate to forced accumulation and consumption, the dictatorship of capital. This process results in the specific metropolitan society. In it, expanding the production of relative surplus value and the formation of capitalist living conditions are identical: Need - Consumption - Ideology: Consciousness.

This expansion and infiltration takes place throughout society: Everything, all areas of work and learning, space and time works for capital and produces profit. Even in thinking, feeling, behavior, acting, communicating: in short in consciousness and life, in everything the capitalist society reproduces itself and enables itself to function. Everyday life, time and expression are completely in the hands of capital. There is no escape from the logic and the mechanism of production: no wage labor means you can not exist, unless at the cost of others. The needs, plans, hopes, dreams, even words themselves result from the production of goods: the production of goods and consciousness.

Life only starts afterwards. We have not only been "divorced from ourselves" at work for a long time now. Our needs and relations get richer but we are still unable to satisfy them. The human wealth of creativity and creative desire is plundered at work and in life, above all in the removal of this distinction by capital. This alienates us from our situation. This emptiness and alienation does express itself in resistance. However, the majority react with apathy, uncomprehending. There is a constant myth about the society of "yesterday and today", sickness, addiction, self-destruction or destruction of others. The only access to the 24 hour day controlled by capital, the only entrance to the "real world", the world of money and the market is buying power. It too is shrinking fast. This means that more and more people find their means of satisfying material needs blocked. The expansion of social needs and the increasing difficulty faced by the majority in satisfying them is a contradiction typical of the metropolitan society, just as is too the accumulation and destruction of social wealth in the metropolis.

All this must attack and deform both the inner life of people and their relations to one another. Liberation, even the act of getting rid of the goods-value structures within each of us, cannot be a one-time act. Therefore, subjective emancipation

is just as important as overthrowing the ruling class. This battlefield is often enough not even recognized - all too often it is seen as a case of first liberating oneself internally, and only then as a liberated person changing the "external" conditions or the later is seen as a final or exclusive goal. Because of this, all too often struggle was either external, superficial, militaristic or in another extreme subjectivist.

Yet, each of us carries a historic memory of this struggle, that must be evaluated to find new ways and strategies. The sweeping changes affect all emancipatory and social struggles, movements and groups world-wide. We in the metropolis are able to contribute a great deal towards the reconstruction of a new humanity, a revolutionary movement, that finishes once and for all with the chaos of capitalism and the destruction of living conditions - and just this is our responsibility.

We must use our experiences to open up the horizon - even if there are only individual women and men amongst us who have shaped and experienced all the phases of struggle over the last twenty years.

For both instances - our present tiny social relevance and our immense potential - every attempt at working on our own history and every search for new ways (like perhaps the mobilization against the "500 years/WES") is vital. Our potential lies in the large mass of people who do not benefit from the islands of wealth any more. The downtrodden and written off - those who try to satisfy their insatiable hunger for life with a shot of "H" - all those in conscious and unconscious opposition to this capitalist nonsense. The number of these people is constantly increasing. The contradictions are becoming sharper and express themselves partly in the warped violence directed against the weakest of all, in national chauvinism or explosions of violence.

This is where we are absent. We with our years of experience in organizing, with our ability to feel where others are coming from and to put our finger on the sore spot.

After more than 20 years of revolutionary (rank and file or armed, spontaneous and militant) struggle, we find ourselves entering into a very important phase in Germany. The whole world has changed - and our country is not the same one as three years ago. However, that fact alone has not changed the conditions and tasks. The political effects of our struggles, actions and initiatives are extremely limited today. Viewed superficially, it seems that state and society have become immune to left and progressive ideas and solutions. We find ourselves in an isolated social situation that is partly forced on us, but also partly of our own making. We live so to speak in one of the many segments or even cracks of a multi-faceted society. How many of us think today in categories of solutions for the problems of society as a whole? Many of us are a long way from such thoughts. And probably it is this very distance that results in our limited influence.

Automatically, the emancipatory contents and goals that resulted from the 60s must fade in the face of this distance. They were worn down like so many of our hopes in the mass militant movements of the 80s. These hopes did not become reality because they were only expressed in purely practical initiatives, where the fighters themselves could not feel enough of themselves.

It is not only the means and form of struggle, that we must re-construct. We will not talk about it in terms of militancy or armed struggle. The methods, means and forms of struggle need each to be discussed on the basis of a concrete political and social context and only that can allow a meaningful discussion about legitimacy and meaning of the methods used.

More and more often in all sorts of areas, whether it be in connection with the political prisoners or anti-fascist actions, voices are heard appealing to the militant and armed groups to stop fighting to give the rulers a sign. It is expected that the state will then also change. This bazaar way of thinking is certainly also a product of us lacking a common perspective: This, seemingly, easiest way, is not really a way at all. The state, government and capitalism are not "per se" good and only driven to extreme measures by the provocations of the revolutionary struggle. In reality, it is precisely the other way round.

Besides, if it were not for the pressure resulting from this struggle, the rulers would have nothing left to fear. We are shocked by the way which their own "not knowing how to go on" is turned against comrades and against a fighting position.

We want to discuss our historical experiences including the militant armed struggle, but for quite other reasons than to declare this struggle to have failed from the outset and to use it in a deal with the state.

No revolutionary left faction with its roots in the 60s movement has been able to provide a valid comprehensive strategy. Most did not even claim to want this because they were bound to the spontaneous ups and downs of the movements. In the 70s both the dogmatic party builders and the later Sponti- and Alternative movements failed. The sectional struggles of the 80s, the autonomian and anti-imperialist militancy also ran out of steam.

Despite (or because of) all their breaks and new orientations only the Red Army Faction (RAF) and the Revolutionäre Zellen (RZ) have maintained a political and organizational continuity in these years. That forges links from all the historical phases and stages with today and makes their experiences so important for today's discussion. We will have to look for new ways with them and with the revolutionary prisoners.

On the whole there are many questions - of the militant struggle, anti-racist and anti-sexist movements, international solidarity..., questions too about how to develop correctly and coordinate revolutionary organization. We must find ways to organize struggle in keeping with the people's direct needs and interests. That goes for all areas and Left groups.

Not only the radical and revolutionary left is atomized. Hundreds of thousands and millions of people are shut out of the (profit) producing center of bourgeois society (a "2/3s" society or whatever term you want

to use.). There are those too who live inside the walls, but still feel contradictions and want to change a lot. These people too are isolated. There are no social or political organisms where a communal life takes place which enable them to express their protest and

resistance. We will have to think more consciously about building "people's organizations", "grass-root committees", etc, to fight for our demands.

More than ever we must concern ourselves with the social dimension of our politics. The atomization and dissection of society is not only determined by the objective situation but above all by ourselves. Unless we give ourselves the strength needed, everything burns out, exhausts itself in defence, in running against the existing conditions without any new areas for social development appearing.

To define ourselves as a revolutionary left amidst this division and destruction of the social and cultural relations will always mean building and developing a social identity for ourselves.

Today the effects of capitalist rule are seen in the attempt to deform the very substance of human beings, tailoring them to suit the computer world. Cut down or styled are just two sides of the same coin. Poverty and misery, brutality and the yuppies, waste and placebos - that is how it is with the metropolis population at the end of the 20th Century. Human abilities, to live together (not being a 'single'), phantasy (not horror-videos) and real communication (not using a computer, BTX machine or Game Boy), etc are withering away. We as a radical left also feel the growing pressure. Our organization was not and is not an island. It is linked by too many threads to the everyday capitalist life albeit under different auspices.

The polarization of society also affects us. It is an existential question to work on ourselves and how we interrelate to each as human beings in this powder keg. This means collectively not only against the power, but also to reveal the creative productivity that is in all of us and protect it. There can be no social offensive from the swamp of our own ghettos.

We will have to learn and discuss a lot. All too often in the (West) German Left, we have seen discussing and fighting separately - as distant from each other as our living and fighting. Discussion lives from words and deeds that result from fighting initiatives.

We find the demand for a basic and strategic debate divorced from any

practical expression just as much of an impossibility to understand as a conflict between "grass-root activity" (e.g. in anti-racist work) and supra-regional or even international discussion and initiatives. We do not want to play one against the other, but to find a connection, because without a forward-looking perspective, any concrete anti-racist work is doomed to fail.

The Munich Working Group against the WES are right when they say that the revolutionary Left has to do some thinking in the face of the changed situation. However, it is incorrect to say that the objective situation alone is responsible for the condition of the Left. That would mean to set aside all the subjective questions of organization, experiences, defeats and our stamina. The various phases of struggle and why the remaining rump of the Left today is almost without any social significance is not even mentioned. In this respect, it is quite correct to criticize the working group for having an economic view of power.

They talk of a "revolutionary resistance", who are to mobilize against the summit. However, our starting point is the complete **non-existence** of a **revolutionary** resistance. For us, this is not primarily a question of the state of the Left (tendencies towards disintegration, de-organization, speechlessness). Rather we see that phase of anti-imperialist and autonomous (= revolutionary) resistance to be over, which came from the struggles against the NATO arms build-up, nuclear power,

new airports, or the squatter movements. This resistance has run out of steam and has lost its emancipatory goals. This has also expressed itself from an organizational standpoint: neither the front- or autonomous organizations and networks have been maintained partly due to repression, but primarily because of internal failures.

The discussions about perspectives for the struggle have been practically non-existent. Even where they did happen, they were not carried on in the various movements. Hardly anyone ever tried to make our historical experiences, until now, a part of our debates. The "defeats" were seen as resulting from the subjective failings of individual groups and initiatives or even as individual failures. The reasons are also to be found in our blindness to the international and social transformations dating from the mid-80s (Roll-back in the metropolises, isolation of the liberation struggles in Trikont, arms race victory over the Soviet Union) and our failure to adapt to the new conditions. Forms of organization and forms of struggle were also prolonged for too long after their time had ended. This was the same for all radical Left factions. Centers, for example, which were conceived as places for social self-organization and were intended to assume social tasks became mere alternative discos or pseudo radical Left party offices. "People's kitchens" became soup kitchens for the "scene", because real "people's kitchens" would automatically have had to deal with all kinds of "welfare cases", etc. We could say this for forms of organization and

practice because we were part of this development.

The chances for a qualitative change, to extend our field of vision, namely to retake the revolutionary initiative by a collective step over the constructed borders of the individual factions - this chance we had objectively in the '89 hunger strike. All groups felt that they had reached their limits and tried to come together in this mobilization. That at the end of this time, there was no coming together and no common road forward lay only in the fact that we did not look for this consciously.

Today's development has gone on beyond this point and the thread that we could have grasped before '89 is now torn. This means that there has been a break in our continuity. This we can see from the fact that the age of the scene has remained the same. We also take this break in continuity as our starting point. Each prolonging makes the corpse of a political line of development into rotten meat contaminating our thoughts.

If anything, we must see the term of "anti-imperialist and autonomous resistance" as being part of the history of liberation struggle in the metropole of the FRG. It is a case of redefining ourselves together with others faced by the same task. This "**crisis of the militants**" (organized leftists) is not a German phenomena, but an international one. This gives an opportunity for a common international discussion amongst all forces fighting for liberation perspectives.

One World - wo
Bleibt unser Widerstand?

One world - where is our resistance?

FREEDOM FOR ALL REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS!

The International fights for human rights

We must have programmatic points for this discussion about new perspectives for liberation. This includes **Freedom for all revolutionary prisoners from the resistance world-wide** just as much as a new campaign against torture and exploitation, for human rights, the right to food, work, shelter and a social, cultural life with respect and self-determination.

Ultimately, we have to redefine the term "democracy". We can talk about our experience with the western capitalist variety of bourgeois parliamentarism. This experience is also important in view of developments in parts of Africa where a pluralist democracy is viewed as being progressive after a long history of authoritarian governments. The term "democratic socialism" was coined anew in parts of Latin America to define a self-chosen road apart from the (then-still existent) "real and existing socialism" but also apart from social democracy and of course capitalism. Why do so many movements demand democratic rights, yet we seem unable to do anything with this term? To talk about this seems to be a matter of urgency to us. Above all we need to talk about the violation of human rights in the rich industrialized countries themselves. We need to speak of the struggle of revolutionary prisoners in European prisons and the isolation torture, about exporting torture, about police-, military-, and counter-insurgency technologies, about arms "aid" and training programs for the ruling power cliques in Trikont. Is it not about time that we define our own terms for democracy and human rights after the decades of propaganda campaigns by the European Conference on Security and Cooperation and the UN resolutions to the Gulf War? Are not we, in reality, the "democratic majority", who represent 3/4 of humanity?

We are glad that the Munich initiative has tried from the beginning to integrate the prisoners from RAF and resistance in the discussion.

The prisoners themselves are demanding their involvement in the social debate. They have taken as their political project,

that goes beyond the demand for their collective custody. They approach in this way a question that affects us all: all organizations, political initiatives and movements, all the experiences of previous struggles have revealed limits to our analyses and imagination. The circles, the thinking in one-way political roads go along with alienation in society. However, there will be no comprehensive discussion with the prisoners so long as the conditions imposed by the state are not changed. Collective custody and censor-free communication are preconditions for this. At the same time a discussion must go beyond sending them resolutions and leaflets.

A discussion for us means a collective debate between groups of people who come together to organize themselves. The prisoners need **collective custody** to do that. What about us? Let us no longer speak about the broad Left, the reformist parts of the Left, social forces or other abstractions. As long as we are unable to come together in committed collectives, our demand for an open political discussion will remain a well-meant platitude. Without this process, the individual women and men amongst us who do correspond with the prisoners will be left to themselves.

We want an international discussion that sets as its goal, freedom for revolutionary prisoners world-wide. We see the question of human rights and the situation of political prisoners in the "new world order" as being of central importance in all countries, to all peoples. We also expect that the international discussion will clarify that human rights and safety for the political prisoners will have to be fought for by revolutionaries. Even if it was possible to demand democratic rights in the 70s, it was also during this time that the axe fell. The state apparatus was able at that time to lay the foundations for an inner war against the revolutionaries ("The German Model for Europe"). Bourgeois illusions in the legal state were lost during this development. On the other hand the political effects of the anti-colonial liberation struggles and the "liberated nation states" impacted in the recognition of the rights to human

dignity and self-determination by international bodies. So, for example, the appendices to the Geneva Convention of 1977 became the reference point for the imprisoned guerrillas because they protected prisoners of war. However, the class struggles that developed later in the 80s (social movements, mass militancy, elements of a political and organization front) which led to many resistance.

Who else is going to fight for human rights today, if we don't? The UN blesses imperialist wars such as the one in the Gulf. The traditional human rights groups have practically disappeared. Regaining of human rights is not a national issue. However, new political conditions can result from this issue for the collectivization and the freedom of political prisoners in the FRG. These new political conditions are needed more than ever, because the efforts in this direction since the last hunger strike have led to a dead-end, which is not to say they were useless.

Our political speechlessness over the last three years is one reason for the fact, that the apparatus now determines the use of terminology in the public debate about the political prisoners. That is also evident in the discussion about the possible release of some prisoners. What is being sold as "reconciliation", is in fact the result of years of resistance by the prisoners and the mobilizations: After 20 years, it is time to stop the solitary confinement, top-security blocks, the censorship, special laws and state defense trials. A political solution is called for: The prisoners must be freed! All of them! Without conditions, without trials of conscience, without "renunciation". We have to involve ourselves in this and that is what we want to do in the framework of the 500 years and Anti-WES mobilization.



WES and antiracist initiatives

We live in bourgeois class societies. The hierarchical division between the producers and owners of the wealth is reflected internationally in the division of the world into rich and poor countries, etc. However, in addition to this horizontal social (and at the same time global) divide, there are also vertical faults. Some are older than the colonial and capitalist exploitation, for example patriarchal oppression and sexist exploitation. They are just as important to maintain and constantly reproduce the conditions of the world system as the contradiction between wage-labor and capital. There has been enough attempts to integrate these different basic contradictions into a model of hierarchy. Racist violence or the subordination and exploitation of women can not be explained in terms of economics and power alone.

We need another conception of the world. Many debates are dominated by the permanent mixing of goal/content/subject. Patriarchate/Anti-patriarchal struggle, racist/anti-racist struggle are usually treated as topics for analyses. Hardly ever, as a process of self-change for us to build ourselves.

We view this difficulty as one starting point which will play a central role during the mobilization against the WES and the 500 years celebrations. We do not say this as a justification or just to leave everything as it is. We say that, because that is the question: how can we rid ourselves or rather the men rid themselves of their sexism - and how can we all rid ourselves of our racism in **the course** of this struggle?

It is not possible to develop an anti-patriarchal analysis subjectively. Admittedly, in the past all too often we have neglected the need to change ourselves in this respect and seen it as being a subordinate issue. However, we must not fall into the opposite evil: of **not doing anything**, without having **already** thrown our own racism and sexism overboard. This will not work. That would mean in us being stuck with them for ever, because without the unity between our own changing and struggle nothing will ever be broken.

We recognize that the various cracks of the division, repression and exploitation of the majority of people have resulted in a contradictory whole - that the white imperialist rule lends this whole its violence and stability. Just as too the racist and sexist metropolitan society, in which everything becomes a piece of merchandise reveals its total brutality in the capitalist ownership of any expression of life.

We will have to build a movement in the coming months and years, which aims to bring an end to all that. In the face of the everyday sexist and racist violence on the streets and in the houses of Germany any other politics will miss reality.

The massive support that the fascists are getting is probably not going to be a passing phenomenon. Strong authoritarianism and racist thinking and behavioral patterns are part and parcel of our society. We are confronted by it in our day-to-day lives all the time. It is more than paste in the people's heads. It is more like cement, with which the Bonn cement heads are made. What the radical Right does violently and noisily on the streets is in the final analysis precisely what the people in front of their T.V sets want and the official politics of the German government.

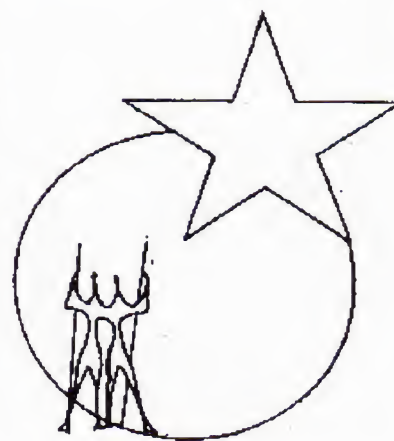
Authoritarian solutions are being discussed in the context of the general social consensus described above. The collapse of the state socialist systems has given the "conservative wave" in Western Europe a new impetus.

The attacks on the hostels and camps are only the state's asylum policies carried to their logical conclusion. He who has been making racist propaganda for over 15 years, organizing searches and deportations, set up camps under conditions that are purposefully a deterrent....etc, knows of course that he has given a carte blanche to others. However, the racist consensus goes beyond the "hatred of foreigners". The alternative concept of a "multi-cultural society" is also part of this very consensus. It is an attempt to appropriate for German society other peoples'

expressions of their cultural identity (from food to art) and their labor. This concept is just the accompanying music to the 'brain-drain', the sucking up of the Trikont peoples' Intelligentsia by the metropolises or rather their research institutions.

For our resistance against this, we need something other than charitable gestures from our privileged position. Throughout the mobilization against the summit and the 500 years celebrations, there runs a thread of opposition to the "male white norm" and the step-ladder of oppressive social conditions. The question is whether we cover them up, separate them from one another or whether we make them our starting point.

We do not want to live in such a country, in which people from other countries have to be afraid of being murdered because of the color of their skin or their language, to say nothing of the daily theft of their dignity. We equally do not want to live in a country where we women have to struggle daily against the injuring of our dignity up to the permanent threat with murder. In the effects on a single person racism and sexism/patriarchate are very near - in our struggle against this violence on the other hand not near to us at all. We can not choose to pieces in the face of reality. So long as we accept any form of violence, we are condemned to be subjected to it again and again. In other words, these struggles are about the pre-conditions for life! As long as 3/4 of humanity must fear for their lives, it is our common task to win together these pre-conditions.



INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION?!

Without over-estimating ourselves or the real possibilities, we want to again take up a thread of internationalist politics, which has existed in bursts and breaks, ideologized and one-dimensional in form over decades of international solidarity from the metropolises and especially from the FRG.

The situation of humanity world-wide has become very tense. Almost all the signs of solutions that were demonstrated by the liberation movements have ended in a dead-end. There have been wars for liberation and struggles that have gone on for decades, wearing down the peoples providing them no hope for improvements to their lives or a long-term hope for peace.

"In order to keep up this fight and carry it on with success, we view it as being life-essential to open up breathing tubes to the rest of the world. In order to stop them from suffocating us, we regard the solidarity, the building of a network and discussing the struggles throughout the world as being of immense importance." (ERNK-Kurdistan)

Using the initiatives of 92, we have a chance to start this discussion on a very broad front. Regardless of whether or not we are able to get all this together in one congress, this basic necessity will remain. One way or another we will have to carry out this discussion. Naturally, we will only be able to deal with a fraction of the questions in the few days at Munich, that are so important for us and the comrades from other countries. More than a sketch of the various analyses and experiences will

not happen. We should not expect too much, or think that we can do it in one jump. It will be a process that can only be measured in years if not decades. It is however decisive that we start it here and now.

Perhaps that will also be a start for us, to have a flow of information coming not from south to north, from the Trikont to the Metropole. There is hardly a struggle, scarcely a national liberation movement that has not been covered in some solidarity newspaper or information bulletin. The communiqués of the FMLN are quickly translated into German. There are many books about their struggle. But where are the texts about us, where are the analyses and leaflets about us in Latin America? That is not just a question of wealth and poverty, of possibilities to print and distribute texts, it is also a question of political relations in the structures of solidarity, what is important to whom and why.

At the latest now, following the war in the Gulf and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, the bloody material limits of Trikont liberation struggles imposed by "one-world" capitalism, we have to start fighting for common solutions. It is no longer a question of solidarity with others, but a question of it everywhere being a fight about **here and there**. Comrades are always coming here from the Trikont to talk with us about their fight, their problems and solutions. But how many of us have done tours in other countries, in the South and have talked with them about us and our fight?

In the discussions and papers of late, there has been a conjecture that has

appeared regularly that we cannot follow: **international discussion** as a substitute for an anchorage in the social realities of the metropole. Moreover the very division of the two is in itself a contradiction, because we could never grasp the reality of the metropole or move without seeing it in relation to world developments. Vice versa, we can not understand the world if we take the specific conditions of the FRG as being our standard. That simply will not do.

International discussion is not a diversion or substitute; However without it nothing can become clearer. Only the mole is able to undermine everything blindly. We can not do so. The experiences from other struggles in other parts of the world are needed, not instead of but to reconstruct our own experiences in the light of our own history of resistance and to be able to generalize it. In any case...: experiences in struggle that are not understood politically as a result of common discussion may as well not have happened at all. They appear for us as a personal history as a biographical note of one person - hardly ever, as a collective political understanding.

An international discussion will not take place if the revolutionaries do not say something about themselves, about their politics. The limits of revolutionary politics are not just imposed in the metropolises, and to break through them will require a collective international effort. To do that we will have to take the situation in our own country as our starting point.



THOUGHTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION

Numerous comrades visited us last year from other countries and continents. From Central- and Latin America, Puerto Rico and the USA, from the Arab world and Kurdistan...they spoke at meetings and discussed in small groups. We got a lot of important things to think about from their visits. Even though we live here and so are able to get a much closer look at the collapse of the Eastern Bloc states, the foreign comrades appear to be more aware of the decisive consequences. Many of their questions were on the lines of: What do we see as being the causes and effects of the fall of the wall? What about Germany's rise to become a superpower? What is the significance of the EEC-superpower? And what are we doing to oppose this?

In the discussions they gave us and our struggle a meaning for themselves and their countries too, which is only described partly in the old phrase from Che: **"In the heart of the beast."** They said to us to something about not overestimating ourselves. We would be deluding ourselves, if we thought that the social and anti-imperialist movements in the metropolises could by themselves win the fight against the beast. The anti-imperialist struggle is a worldwide process. **"The world is bigger than the northern hemisphere."**

Above all we felt their massive need to communicate with us. They wanted to reach an understanding together with the Left and democratic people of the rich metropolises about all political and strategic questions of the liberation struggle. The struggles throughout the world have to link up and create a common basis for discussion. Members of the Kurdish liberation movement told us that they regarded the new social movements, the women's movement, environmental movements, anti-war movements and the other movements as their natural and strategic allies.

Again and again we heard of their attempts to re-orientate themselves, to go different ways. To build on the experiences of national liberation struggles, guerilla-movements,

organizing in the slums, the parties. They talked about their own acquired recognition of the need for an international discussion.

The reasons at home for their revolutions also have multiplied a thousand times over. No country could say that the living conditions for the people have improved. Everywhere destruction has spread. Poverty, hunger, slums, sickness and environmental disasters have got worse in quantity and quality. However, it has also become clear that the possibilities to change this appear today tiny, even where the revolutionary forces are strong or even in power such as in Nicaragua. The power-relations worldwide are clearly to the detriment of the countries and peoples of Trikont. This situation is stabilized by a political and military world system, that is not so new. The U.S., Japan and the West European states dominate this system. Regardless of which international institution you take, UN, World Bank or the North/South conferences.

This back-cloth means that we are loathe to support the "reformist minimum consensus", the demand for annulling debts as raised by the Munich working group, and inclined to counter this with a "further-reaching anti-imperialist aim." We see the question as being whether such a measure could give the peoples in the South a breathing space, or even slow up the poverty process. More could not be expected from annulling the debts. However, perhaps that is just what is needed to enable other further reaching goals to be achieved. For example, reparations for the wealth pillaged in 500 years of colonialization and slavery.

Besides this there are other concrete questions, which we could deal with in the international discussion:

The world-political situation has changed radically over the past decade. What are the experiences of national liberation concepts and are they still valid in the light of the changed situation? What does that mean for a national liberation movement outside the NATO

borders, such as those carried on in different ways by the Kurdish, but also the Basque and Irish? What about the FRG and EEC policy of recognizing any state from the Baltic to the Balkans so long as it suits political and economic planning?

What does this mean for the colonies within the EEC?

How are these questions discussed by the Left in Latin America? What does this mean for revolutions such as that in Eritrea, where the national question still means redrawing the borders laid down by 19th century colonialism? What are the experiences of the popular organizations such as the El Salvadorean and Columbian Poder Populares, or the autonomous self-determined forms of social and medical care practiced on the Philippines, the organization of the slum quarters in Istanbul, or the anti-racist/cultural projects of the black ghetto resistance in the USA or the natives of the American continent?

The end of the East/West confrontation has led to the imbalance and unfair relations worsening. Many of our comrades, but we have also heard the same of comrades in Latin America, have rejected any perspective for national liberation as a result of this. The counter-revolutionary strategy of economic blackmail in conjunction with Contra-wars have worked in most nationally-liberated states. Is this victory in Nicaragua unambiguous? We must avoid over-simplifying things. New national liberation movements in Peru and Kurdistan have continuously gained ground in the last ten years, because of or in spite of their many differences.

The capitalist victory over the Soviet State Socialism is not the end for Socialism altogether. Certainly, it is not the end of history, as proclaimed by the propagandists of capitalist democracy. Even though many of the West German autonomists and anti-imperialist leftists have mostly ignored the developments in Eastern Europe, many act today as if they had lost their heart to the Soviet Union. It is a fraud to see the roots of our somewhat desolate condition in the

collapse of "real socialism", in the integration of the GDR and the strength given to imperialism by this.

The pessimism of the West German Left is hardly shared by any of the comrades from other countries. They appeared confident - a spirit that they derive from the wells that they sank during their development and their experiences in struggle. In Latin America, for example, the consequence has been to expand the discussions, alliances and campaigns into a regional and continental dimension. It is there that today the greatest mobilization is taking place against the bombastic celebrations of the 500th anniversary of America's conquest.

The increasingly tight links between our countries are leading to paradoxical events. The ways of life favored by capitalism, whereby a special mixture of highly-differentiated wage labor, leisure industry and consumerism, led by singles or nuclear families are valid for at the most 10% of humanity. The majority must fear for their day-to-day survival. The wealthy islands are distributed with all their common attributes and status symbols over the entire globe. Concentrated in the North. On the other hand the slums are spreading throughout the world - even in the rich countries.

To see this, does not mean to speak of the German welfare receiver and the Brazilian female land worker in the same breath. There are still worlds of economic difference between the two, and racist and sexist-motivated privileges and disadvantages.

However, it is also correct to say that the world today is like an international system of reservations. A global apartheid with hundreds of homelands - and just as racially and economically divided as in South Africa. We live in a world in which not only three or four worlds exist, but countless worlds - without clear geographical borders - sprinkled one inside another. Huidoboro, a Tupamaro comrade from Uruguay said about this, that he could show us a First World inside the Third World, a Germany inside Uruguay with Audi Quattro, luxury consumerism and PCs at home. We too, knew of places here where a universe lay between the situation there and the world of the Uruguayan Germany.

The slums in Germany have not reached the extent of those in Trikont. However, beyond the Eastern borders of the new Germany, years of inadequate planned economies and a few months of "free market economies" have produced immense poverty. Wealthy islands have established themselves here under the protection of the EEC such as the Baltic states and Slovenia. No wonder therefore that people all over the world are fleeing from these conditions, which leave them no possibility to live with any dignity as human beings. Millions flee in the cities of the Trikont. Millions flee to where the riches of the world have collected: in the North.

The mass flight from the GDR led to the term in the FRG "voting with your feet". The on-going, mass exodus world-wide are votes against the existing capitalist system. Since the first decade of development under the auspices of the UN in the 60s, conditions have worsened immensely for the majority of humanity. The situation has been indescribably bad for some time now. The international changes have also led to worse social and political conditions in our European countries. Revolts and explosions in the suburbs and concrete towers of French cities belong to the drumbeats of our time. Alongside the high-tech-production zones and the metropolitan lifestyle, poverty regions are also developing. We are going to feel the effects of this x-times less than the people in Southern France, Portugal or Greece. The FRG is the winner state from the European union. That "cushions" the consequences for our living standards, which we should not forget.

Europe and especially the imperialist Germany has become very large. Many comrades from other countries see the development as being one in which the FRG will be the strongest world power in 2,000 A.D. We don't know if that will be the case, but it is already clear that German capital's plans for the European region have been fulfilled. The East European state network is being divided up and re-distributed. The FRG has assumed the leader position everywhere. In Yugoslavia, the FRG has taken over the role practically of high commissioner for the EEC. The collapse of the planned economies was due to internal reasons, the result amongst other things, of years of fraud with production plans by corrupt elites. Their socialist concepts viewed

the people not as subjects, but as objects of state welfare, rewards or harassment from above. They remained trapped in their social democrat and prussian welfare-state origins (Bismarkmus as Mhsam said).

However, today the Western heads of state and bankers are staging a china-smashing party together the "national leaderships" of Eastern Europe. Hardly a vase is going to remain unbroken.

Some questions gave us pause for thought. We were asked for example, why did n't we demonstrate on the streets together with the East Germans for political and social progress in all of Germany? Yes, then perhaps the fans of a Greater Germany would not have dared to have turned the GDR into a colony of the Treuhand. Perhaps a completely different Republic would have emerged. However, this is a breaking point - just like the Gulf War and future military "defense" all over the world, and the closing of the borders to the islands of wealth against the refugees. **Where will we stand?** With those who would "defend the West?" alongside other former leftists? Or will we be among those who ill break the Fortress Europe from the inside?!

We see plenty of good reasons for a new orientation of the left and radical struggle. We can not imagine the success of this orientation **without** a cohesion of practice and new experiences. The 500 years/Anti-WES mobilization is just one form of practice for us, in which we can make new experiences and gain new impulses, especially in the exchange with comrades from other countries. This way we can also put the vague contours of the new orientation, which we do have in our minds somehow, to a test.

Never before in human history were periphery and center so close to each other. The wounds that this system has inflicted on us are deep, deep in the people of all continents. To turn over the power pyramid, which exists in every society, so that the last will be the first - that is what is on the agenda.

January 1992



For the life and the freedom of the political prisoners!

Debate about the release of prisoners out of RAF and resistance in the FRG

Since the 1989 hungerstrike of the prisoners of RAF and resistance there is besides their demand for joint confinement in large groups their demand for their release, combined with the discussion about redetermination of revolutionary policy. At that time the government didn't give way in spite of a big mobilization in support of the prisoners demand. After the RAF continued their actions with regard to that, the security service had no "success" with their search and meanwhile industrialists circles press for a solution too, there was an official reaction for the first time at the beginning of this year.

The minister of justice, Kinkel, intimates the release of a part of the prisoners (for more exact informations see frame beside) and publicly admits the Unfitness for Imprisonment of some prisoners. Short time afterwards Claudia Wannersdorfer, prisoner of the resistance, was released. She was in prison and unfit for imprisonment since 7 years. Nothing else happened.

In April RAF declared to interrupt their actions against representatives of state and industrie to create room for the discussion about a political redetermination and for the Freedom of the prisoners. The prisoners joined this declaration. Thereupon the public discussion starts again, the RAF-declaration was published wide and now the prisoners get a chance to speak themselves. A TV-interview with the women imprisoned in Lübeck was broadcasted and interviews with newspapers were allowed. Günter Sonnenberg, whose release was struggled for since 15 years with a lot of hungerstikes and mobilizations is outside at last.

Now it has to continue:

Freedom for the prisoners of RAF and Resistance!!!
and until that: Joint Confinement in large groups!!!



The initiative of the state

At the beginning of this year it was declared by the highest political-judiciary level, by the minister of justice Kinkel, that: "...the vicious circle between conditions of detention, solidarity - and recruiting-measures and then new assassinations has to be broken through... The state will prove that he treats the RAF-prisoners alike any others. And that means: After 15 years of detention a review for those who had been condemned for life, a review after 2/3 of the sentence for those who were sentenced for time in prison."

Only 8 prisoners were named in the medias: Bernd Rössner, since 17 years in prison, Günter Sonnenberg, since 15 years. Both are unfit to be kept in prison since a long time; Günter was seriously injured by a shot in his head during his arrest, and is unfit to be kept in prison since that time. In spite of his being unfit to be kept in prison the release of Bernd was refused after 15 years of detention as long as he doesn't renounce.

Three names from the group of prisoners who have done 15 years or more were mentioned arbitrarily: Irmgard Müller, 20 years of detention and the only surviving of the night of the Stammheim murder in 1977; Lutz Tauber, 17 years in prison and Christine Kuby (14 years). The other prisoners of this group got not mentioned. Further on 3 prisoners were mentioned whose time of detention is ending soon: Christa Eckes, 8 years, ending this June; Claudia Wannersdorfer, prisoner out of the resistance, who is also unfit to be kept in prison since a long time. She has been released now on the 13th of february, her remaining sentence of 9 month became imposed on 3 years on probation. And Karl-Friedrich Grosser, also prisoner out of the resistance, whose remaining sentence shall be imposed on probation too.

That means: This list of prisoners mentioned by the minister of justice Kinkel does neither include all prisoners who are unfit to be kept

in prison nor all the prisoners who have done 15 years or more.

Parallel to the whole public debate the state continued in dealing with the political prisoners and resistance according to the "normality" of the last twenty years: Further on there are visit bans and letter censorship on the grounds of the "illegal info-system", also the demand for re-groupement becomes criminalized again and again. The Federal German bar is preparing new trials against Sieglinde Hofmann, Ingrid Jakobsmeier, Rolf Clemens Wagner and Christian Klar on the basis of the purchased 'Kronzeugenaussagen' (States evidences statements) of the RAF-dropouts, arrested in GDR. Sieglinde and Ingrid both have time sentences and would be released in 1993 and 1995 respectively without the new charge. They shall be condemned to a sentence for life too by the new trials.

TO ALL WHO ARE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO ORGANIZE AND TO PUSH THROUGH A HUMAN LIFE IN DIGNITY HERE AND WORLDWIDE ON REALLY CONCRETE ISSUES



This is what we are looking for as well. There are thousands of questions on the table that scream for a solution, if these problems are not soon faced and solved they will lead humanity into the catastrophe. They are caused by the capitalistic principle that only profit and power have a value and that people and nature are subservient to it.

Since 1989 we, the RAF, have started thinking and speaking more intensively about the fact that it can't go on as before for us and for everybody who has a history of resistance in the FRG. We have come to the conclusion that it is a question of finding new definitions for a policy able to push through real changes for the life of people today and to tear away the definition of real life from the rulers completely in the long run. To this aim it is necessary to see one's own and the common history of everybody in the resistance, to think about what we have done wrong and what important experiences we or others made, and what meaning these experiences could have for the future.

The starting point was:

1. The fact that we all faced a completely changed situation in the relations of power world-wide - the desintegration of the system of socialist states, the end of the "Cold War". We were confronted with the fact that the idea of a break through for liberation in the common international fight did not materialize. The liberation struggles were all too weak to beat an imperialism expanding it's warfare on all levels.

The collapse of the socialist states which was caused basically by unresolved internal contradictions has had catastrophic effects for millions of people throughout the world. It has thrown back all people fighting for liberation onto themselves. However through it the necessity has become clear for everybody once again that the liberation struggles can only be developed out of the awareness of the people for their own special history out of the authentic conditions and aims. And only out of this a new international force can grow. A lot of comrades from the Third World have brought this into discussions and there they have found the beginnings of a completely new politics and they have put it into practice. We will also do this here, by this we are connected to them.

2. we ourselves have been confronted by the fact, that, by the way we practiced our politics in the years before 1989, we became politically weaker instead of getting stronger. For various reasons we have less and less

been able to develop any attraction for the people here, attraction that would have made common activity possible.

We recognize it as a central failure that we have made too few steps towards the people who also stood up here. And we didn't make steps at all toward those who hadn't stood up yet.

We recognized that we have to look for the people and that it can't go on as it was before that we as guerillas take all the decisions by ourselves and that the others take their bearings from us. We often formulated this in a different way, but that was the reality. We have very much reduced our politics to attacking imperialist strategies. The search for immediate positive aims and for a way, how a social alternative can begin to exist here and today, was missing. The experiences, that others obtained by fighting, showed us that it is possible that such a thing can be started here.

But our relations to those people who were closed to us, were first of all determined by the aim to attack together. Therefore there was no room in this definition for them to develop and to live out their own social values in their everyday-lives together with lots of others. Only by that could we have come to a common politics, which could have shown more people, including those who live outside the various scene-ghettos, that the coldness and powerlessness within imperialism are neither destiny nor natural laws, but end where people put their needs and their solidarity into practice starting to live this here and today.

Two years ago we drew the consequences from that and have since tried a parallel process of a new orientation and practical intervention.

We thought we could create a new relationship by ourselves by the way we chose our actions and by the way we talked, and so create the necessary requirements for a common discussion and by that the possibility for a common perspective together with a lot more people and groups.

It was a mistake that we didn't mediate our process clearly, but only fragmentary in our communiques and letters as a result of our discussion.

And this is only a start and soon we will talk about everything more thoroughly.

After these two years we understood that this wasn't enough and that in this way we couldn't make room for what we consider as most important now and in the immediate future:

The common discussions and the forging of links between different groups and people, which has been necessary for so long, starting

from the point, where the people live, from the daily lives of the people in society which drives many to take their situation into their own hands and search for solutions together with other people.

We think such links may become a basis of the power, which we called counterpower from below and which doesn't yet exist in this way. As long as such an alternative to destruction and desperation within the system can't be experienced, the number of those excluded and standing alone without any perspective, dying of heroine or driven into suicide etc. will increase. And more and more people will follow the fascists.

Out of our experiences and our discussions with comrades concerning all these issues we are now sure that the guerilla can't be in the centre of this building process.

At the moment lethal actions targeting on the leaders of the state and economy can't promote the process that is necessary now because they lead the whole situation to escalate for everything, which has just started to grow and for all who are searching.

The quality of such attacks presupposes clarity about what concrete changes they can set into motion. There can't be this clarity now, at a time when for everybody it's all about finding a new basis for themselves. In this way we also understand the criticism of some, that by these actions we presume the result of the process.

WE HAVE DECIDED TO WITHDRAW THE ESCALATION ON OUR PART. THAT MEANS THAT WE WILL STOP OUR ATTACKS ON LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF ECONOMY AND STATE FOR THE PROCESS THAT IS NOW NECESSARY.

This process of discussion and building the counterpower from below includes the struggle for the freedom of the political prisoners as a vital part.

After 20 years of state of emergency against the prisoners, torture and annihilation it is now time to enforce their right to live - to obtain their freedom by fighting!

In January, the minister of justice, Kinkel, announced the release of some of the prisoners who are unfit for imprisonment and of some who have been imprisoned for the longest time. This was the first time they have admitted that there are factions in the establishment who have understood that they cannot gain a grip on social contradictions and resistance by means of police- and military repression.

They have wanted to annihilate the prisoners

for more than 20 years. Kinkel announcement poses the questions whether the state is willing to give up its annihilation-strategy against everybody who is fighting for a self-determined life. The strategy against those who don't capitulate in the face of the power of money, those who formulate and live out their own interests and aims against the interest of profit.

This Kinkel-initiative poses the question whether the state grants room for political solutions (and if there are representatives of economy putting the government under pressure to that effect, this can only be good).

We will look closely to see how serious the Kinkel-initiative is. As yet not much has happened except from Claudia Wannersdorfer being released just a few month before her official release. The others who are unfit for imprisonment - Günter Sonnenberg, Bernd Rössner, Isabel Jacob, Ali Jansen - are still imprisoned. Also Irmgard Moeller is still imprisoned after more than 20 years. Up to now the conditions in prison didn't become any better.

The hearings of Norbert Hofmeier, Baerbel Perau and Thomas Thoene, after they were

THE PRISONERS UNFIT FOR IMPRISONMENT AND THOSE IMPRISONED FOR THE LONGEST TIME MUST BE RELEASED AT ONCE! ALL THE OTHER ONES MUST COME TOGETHER UNTIL THEIR RELEASE!

It is an important turning point if something moves in this direction in the near future; everybody will be able to see in which direction the train will run; whether the faction in the establishment gets its way that accepts the need to make concessions for a political solution, or the one of the concrete-heads and iron-eaters.

This will not only become obvious from the states behaviour towards the political prisoners. There are other focuses, where this turning point will be immediately apparent. There where fights have already been able to win room it will be quickly obvious to what extend they will accept political solutions or want to wage war. For example, whether they still want to wage war against people from Hafenstraße, Hamburg, after 10 years of fighting. However in the long term a lot of other things are important:

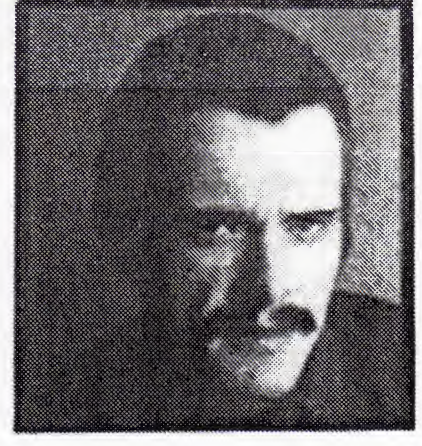
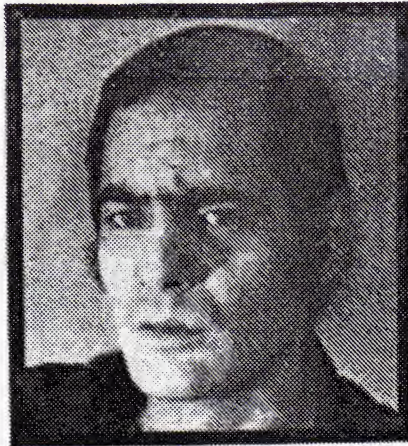
is itself producing all the time.

- For a long time now it is reality that the cops protect the fascists and beat up the antifascists, that they chase demonstrators to the death, for example Conny Wissmann (*Anti-fascist activist woman who was chased into a car by the police in Göttingen in 1989*) and that they shoot at demonstrators, for example a few month ago in Frankfurt, and torture refugees with electro-shocks etc. - It is the question whether german soldiers will march again against other peoples and how long fascists regimes can go on massacring the populace with the weapons and support from here.

Above all it will be decided mainly by the way struggles can be developed for all these questions in the society - and of course this is not a complete list - whether and to which extend room for political solutions here can be won by fighting.

At no point will they retreat of their own accord. For this social pressure and fighting for our demands will always be necessary to achieve this.

With our withdrawal of the escalation we have made a step to open up this political space.



Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe

in prison 2/3 of the time of their sentences, were like inquisitions. Angelika Goder is threatened with being sent to prison although she is ill. The announcement of new trials against some prisoners following statements by state-witnesses expresses the ice-cold need of the state for revenge. It reveals their aim to bury the prisoners forever in jail. Referring to the ministry of justice in Stuttgart, the newspaper "Welt" formulated the unbroken will of annihilation: If they were to decide (*the ministry of justice and "Welt"*) Günter Sonnenberg, who is unfit for imprisonment for more than 15 years, would only be released if he submits to the repressive harassments in prison without resistance. He is called a "recalcitrant prisoner", because he shows solidarity and keeps contact with his friends. In this way they make propaganda against his release. All this stands in direct contradictu to a really different position that's beginning to emerge on the part of the state.

- There are the fights of social prisoners against special prison-conditions and in general against the inhuman conditions in prisons. It must not happen that the political prisoners get out of the extermination blocks and others take their place.

All isolation blocks must be closed!

- There are the fights for centres, for room to live and for housing for many, who don't have this here and now.

- It will become apparent from the extend to which the people of the former GDR continue to be squeezed as objects into the capitalist system or whether they can win ground by fighting to determine thier own development.

- It is an important question how long the state will be able to whip up the racism against refugees and treat them as "sub-humans", to deny the responsibility of itself and the economy for unemployment, the housing desaster, starving of the elderly etc. And how long it will be able to continue to send these people back to the misery that it

Now it is up to the state to react. And because today nobody knows how they are going to react, we want to protect the process of discussion and construction.

If they now mow down the people with their machine of destruction and repression, who are taking this process in hand and continue to wage war against the people below, then the period of our withdrawal of escalation is over - should this happen we will not watch from the side lines.

If they will not let us live, i.e. all the people who struggle for a humane society, they have to know that their elites cannot live either.

Even if it is not in our interest:

War can only be answered with war.

Red Army Fraction
April, the 10th, 1992

DECLARATION OF THE PRISONERS OUT OF RAF AND RESISTANCE



The following text is a common declaration of the prisoners out of RAF and resistance written by Irmgard Möller, prisoner out of RAF.

Irmgard Möller is in prison since 1972, she is the political prisoner in FRG who is imprisoned for the longest time. She is the only survivor of the murder in the prison of Stammheim in 1977. She survived seriously injured whereas Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe died.

Right away we want to say the following in short: The decision of our comrades is correct, it corresponds to what we, the prisoners, too are set on for the political process.

Already since 1989 we want an incision in the whole political coherence. A step like this cannot be approached by all involved only at the prisoners 'level'.

Today we realize very much clearer, as it was recognizable still in the midst of the 80th and was the first time tackled by us politically and put into a practice in the hungerstrike in 1989, that the global and the intra-social upheavels are so radical that they make it impossible for all to simply continue the policy and practice of the 70th and 80th.

Who sticks to the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of the worldwide and intra-social existing unjust and destructive conditions has to understand these upheavels and get to a redetermination of the own politics' content and forms, also in relation to the respective other left-wing experiences and ways of live.

For the present and "after the prison" we, the political prisoners, understand this as direct political target:

Reorientation in the society and in the international relations and coherences, a sincere process of learning.

Primarily this has to become reality for the four prisoners who are unfit to be kept in prison.

Bernd and Günter have to be released at once.

Only with their release there will be a rational element in the conflict between the political prisoners and the state again.

Thereby it is a matter of a more radical step for all who are involved.

An incision in contrary to the history of 22 years.

We are not unrealistic when we say:

We want a perspective of liberty for all of us in the foreseeable next future.

Also in our imagination this will not happen at once and not for all of us at the same time.

However we say very clearly:

For this, what for 22 years was decided also against the prisoners according to political considerations and to combat and annihilation criterias (from the special laws beyond the state-defence-courts to the details of isolation)

For this, what we as collective have fought ourselves through, nine of us prisoners have died in this struggle, but in its aims we have wrecked it,

this cannot be conveyed after these decades as a pseudo - normal procedure to a "solution".

Such a procedure would simply pass by reality and would be a mocking of all who have an idea of FRG's political history in the last 25 years that is different to the security apparatus and states-defence-justices idea. And they will not allow to be deprived of this political history.

History is no possession of the state, the official version of the state is not ours.

It will only work in the way to handle politically with social contradictions.

For that, we, the prisoners out of RAF and resistance and the RAF have opened the space.

This has nothing to do with "tactics".

Irmgard Möller

written for all prisoners out of RAF and resistance

Lübeck 15.4.92

INTERVIEW

with Irmgard Möller

published in the german bourgeois-liberal magazine "Der Spiegel"

Question: On the 15th of May you have celebrated your 45th birthday in Lübeck-Laverhof prison, your 20th birthday behind bars. Which are the results of your longterm imprisonment on your physical condition?

Irmgard: Since I've been 25 I've been continuously in jail - the first years I've been completely isolated from other prisoners. Today everything is out of order, nothing is right. The skin is ruined. The circulation is totally ruined. The vegetative system is out of order. For a long time I suffered psychosomatic illness that turned into real illness then. I had headaches all the time.

Question: Do you feel mentally in form?

Irmgard: Now again. This was

different, especially during the first years when I was totally isolated. The isolation had for example consequences on one's capacity of thinking. If one makes no sensual experiences anymore, can't talk with anybody, the whole thinking will be changed respectively cutted. You have no associations anymore, you see no pictures anymore, everything is separated, cut into pieces. Everything is in a mess and put on it's head.

Question: At what time did the symptoms go down?

Irmgard: When the isolation came to an end in 1980 as I was confined together with other RAF-prisoners as a collective. Here in Lübeck we are now four. Besides me Hanna Krabbe, who was captured at

the occupation at the German embassy in Stockholm 1975, Christiane Kuby who was captured in January 19768, who fought against that and since then is inside, and Gaby Rollnick from the "Movement 2. nd of June" who was moved to us in 1989.

Question: Your group is privileged. Until now most of the other RAF-prisoners have demanded in vain a joint confinement.

Irmgard: Also if there are four or three of us inside, it is isolation. We are missing the interchange with all political prisoners and the discussion with the peoples outside.

Question: Within the next month you could probably come out of prison. Klaus

Kinkel who was minister of justice in Bonn up to now has made a peace offer to the RAF and promised a soon release for you and other prisoners that you declare political prisoners. As a result the RAF has reacted with a temporary reunciation of violence. Has by that the escalation of violence finished that did cost more than 50 people on both sides of the law their lives during the last 20 years?

Irmgard: RAF wants to put it's policy on a new foundation. We want to create a very new political basis but not confront the peoples with escalations in the same moment.

Question: What does this mean in concrete? Do you rule out that you use armed actions to put through political aims? Does this reunciation of violence goes for you personally too?

Irmgard: Reunciation of violence sounds so institutional, so governmental. That expression is very foreign to me. But in the moment I can't imagine the use of violence neither out of the political situation nor out of my personal state.

Question: But that is a very restricted denial of violence. The political situation could change, your personal state also.

Irmgard: I cannot talk about what will be in 20 or 30 years. And you can't either. That's why I can't answer that question in another way.

Question: But RAF's attitude to violence remains being a central theme. The more the RAF shot and bombed, the more of the support of those that either speak up for social changes. Your former comrade in fight, Klaus Jünschke who was pardoned after 16 years in prison, claims that the RAF lost it's moral and political legitimization with the first shot.

Irmgard: That's just not true. The armed struggle was legitimate.

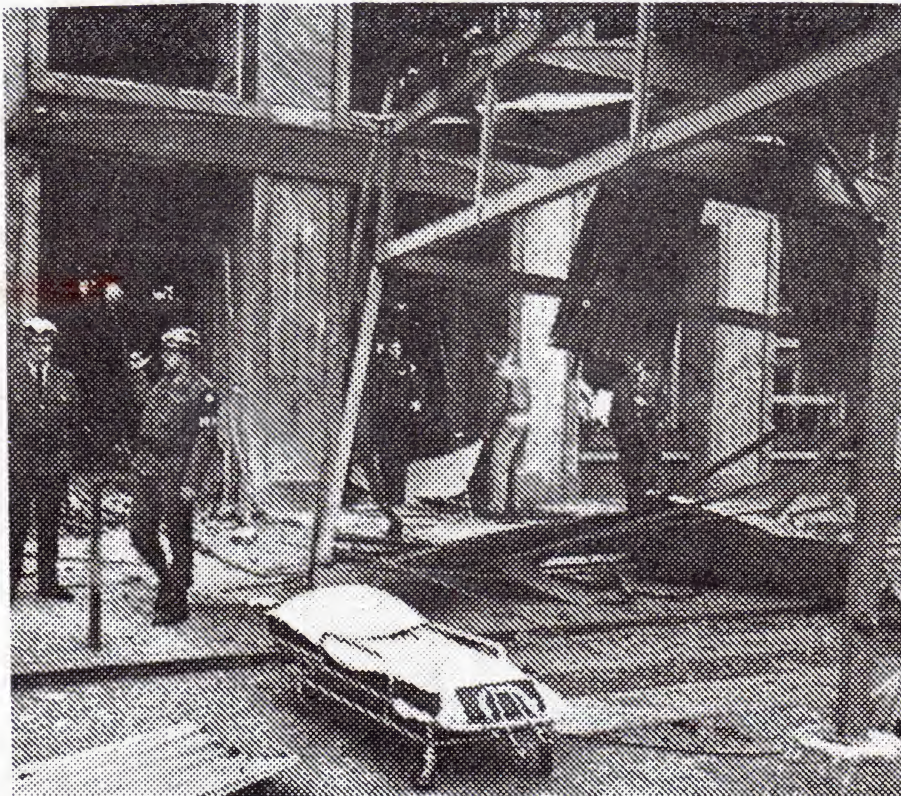
Question: Beyond more you are sentenced because of the bombing of the US-headquarter in Heidelberg (during the war in Vietnam), at which 3 persons died and more were wounded. Do you

still consider this attack was justified?

Irmgard: This attack I still consider was absolutely legitimate. At that time attacks on US-facilities were our most important initiatives. We attacked Heidelberg because the headquarter was the coordinating point of the US in the Vietnam war. From there the bombings of the vietnamese civil population were coordinated.

Question: And that the RAF wanted to stop with it's own terror bombing?

Irmgard: We wanted to show them that they cannot believe having a smooth back-up area anywhere. That could only



Headquarter of V. US - Corps in Frankfurt after RAF - attack

be broken up violently, not with a leavelet. It was just much too little, too little in view of the massacres and the genocide organized from here.

Question: From today's view do you also consider the attacks of the years after on German top representatives of state and business world to be justified.

Irmgard: I consider them to be legitimate. About that I have no doubt at all. The RAF doesn't stop these attacks because they wouldn't be legitimate but because they don't support the political process we have in mind.

Question: What you permanently call attack to almost all other citizens is simply murder.

Irmgard: Not to us because we haven't planned it as an individual murder but we understand it as an armed attack on the state.

Question: But with your so-called attacks on the state you've always hit persons of flesh and blood, with families and children.

Irmgard: Of course that's not easy and no joy. But because the state is abstract I don't see how at that time he could have been attacked in another way but through it's representatives. Today that has changed.

Question: But the RAF's assassinations have been continued up to the recent past. Still in 1989 f. ex., after the last big hungerstrike of the RAF-prisoners a RAF-commando has blown up the banker Alfred Herrhausen.

Irmgard: 1989 was a year of fundamental changes. With our hungerstrike we reached very new sections of the population, Christian groups f. ex., also people from the unions, that discussed about our terms/conditions of custody and our joint confinement. In the same time the political systems in the East broke apart. We have tried to react on these political questions at the same time. We've had new discussions about our conditions of custody, also talks with the state. At the same time

the RAF continued it's attacks...

Question: ...and murdered Herrhausen.
Irmgard: What was the situation in 1989? Even before GDR's break-down Herrhausen had, unnoticed by the Left and the population in the West, planned how he could exploit the situation best and get everything inside his strongroom.

Question: From what did the RAF create the right to condemn someone to death?

Irmgard: From the certainty that the goal I'm fighting for too is not only mine but that of the majority of the people of the whole world. From the certainty, that it's right and justified to put an end to a system, to overthrow it, because it murders the majority of the people instead of letting them live.

Question: To us it seems as if the man on the street didn't even understand your speech not to talk of your actions.

Irmgard: I think our declarations weren't always written for him.

Question: Lasting for years you gave more the impression that your revolution should be carried by the majority of the population.

Irmgard: Right from the beginning it couldn't be the point for us to look for majorities. Here the populations consciousness was of that kind that only a minority could advance the revolutionary process.

Question: You have thought of yourselves as revolutionary avant-garde?

Irmgard: Yes, we did.

Question: Still today, do you think of yourselves in that way?

Irmgard: In their declaration the RAF has declared that at the moment we don't want to be avant-garde, don't want to be center of attention.

Question: The minister of interior Kinkel says that his initiative aims at reconciliation between state and it's worst enemy. A lot of your statements still sound completely irreconcilable.

Irmgard: It is not only the way that Mr. Kinkel has come to humane insights. This is just one small part of it. He has understood that he will never gain control of us in the old way.

Question: What do you mean by "old way"?

Irmgard: The way to criminalize us prisoners and to try to capture and clear up the militants outside.

Question: Doesn't mean the idea of reconciliation used by Kinkel absolutely nothing to you?

Irmgard: Anyhow we don't take it literally. Kinkel can't concile ourselves to the contents and forms of the system we have combatted. He has to accept that we are and will remain opposition and that we are not just some criminals they tried to make of us for 20 years. In this respect reconciliation is wrong.

Question: People have been killed or injured at your attacks. Are you sorry about this in the meantime? Is there something like regret?

Irmgard: I can't grasp this in a personal and individual manner at all.

Question: But we ask you personally, not as spokeswomen of a political group.

Irmgard: I can't think that way. I can't abstract and take apart the attacks in such categories.

Question: Others, like, ex. your former militant-companion Werner Lotze who shot down a policeman in 1978, have

the motto: How can we most effectively bring our persons who give state's evidence into action for public relation work?

Question: Can you imagine to start a dialogue with relatives of RAF-victims like the brothers of Gerold von Braunmühl, killed by RAF, have tried it the other way 'round.

Irmgard: I can't see the sense of it. I can see nowhere starting-points for it.

Question: Don't you fear your attitude will endanger your release and give impetus to those politicians who reject

Kinkels line anyway.

Irmgard: This danger exists as long as we are not willing to manoeuvre. And we'll never do that.

Question: Don't you see any reasons to revise the old concept of the enemy in Kinkels venture, that is of course a break in the state's dealing with the RAF?

Irmgard: Sure, in any case. But for that the confrontation has to be withdrawn a bit more from both sides. What RAF has declared is important to the state anyway: That he hasn't to fear attacks now.

Question: What do you expect as consequences?

Irmgard: The release for all of us, no matter if one has been captured 5 or 20 years ago and regardless of judgements like for instance seriousness of guilt. This judgements will not work anyhow because we have determined the actions collectively and done them between us.

Question: How do you imagine it? The respectively responsible courts decide about the discharge of prisoners.

Irmgard: One consequence has to be that the state don't insist on

letting us out separated by those courts. Now a situation is existing wherein a real solution has to be brought about. That means we all have to be released in a period of one or two years. That's how we do imagine it.

Question: That would be illegal. Should all get pardoned by the President then?

Irmgard: I don't know how it should work concretely. I can only say what



Banner 1986

asked the victims relatives for forgiveness at TV. Can you imagine such an apology for yourself?

Irmgard: No, absolutely not. And I also believe that the whole thing was arranged. But I also didn't feel like thinking Lotze is a pig: I rather thought: What are they doing to him? The programme was really arranged with the Federal German Bar according to

cannot work. But I also cannot imagine to be introduced to the President and have to say that and that.

Question: Do your demands also include the RAF command level members who are still searched for? Do you expect amnesty for them?

Irmgard: No, I haven't thought of that.

Question: Do you really know someone of these members of the third or fourth RAF-generation personally?

Irmgard: Do you mean if I know the individual militants? No, I don't.

Question: The security authorities maintain that attacks have been planned and directed out of the cells. According to the motto: The heads are inside the prisons and the manual workers outside.

Irmgard: That's not true. This assertion had always just this function: To criminalize the best-known prisoners as those who are the only ones who want to and can wage this struggle at all. All others should be presented as manual workers and recipients of orders.

Question: Haven't there been at least recommendations from the prisons to the scene outside.

Irmgard: When the militants out there have made attacks it had influence on our situation, on everything. But we never said: Do this or do that. It doesn't work like that at all.

Question: Ms Möller you are the Stuttgart-Stammheim prison drama only survivor, when according to the inquiries results the RAF foundation members Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe have committed suicide in the night to October, 18th. You yourself went into hospital with serious injuries and support RAF-version that it has been murder.

Irmgard: That's no version but a fact to me. The last 15 years I had no opportunity to speak about that. I haven't seen the records, didn't get the testimonies made in front of the investigation committee, still not even get to see the final report. Me myself brought in a murder charge but the proceeding was abandoned at once.

Question: So according to your memory, what has happened in that night in Stammheim?

Irmgard: We have been in single cells at the 7th floor, the cells next door were empty. Of course I knew that a Lufthansa airplane was hijacked, to reach our release. But I also knew that GSG 9* was on its way to assault the airplane. *GSG 9 (Border guard group 9) = special federal police group, trained for "anti-terrorism" interventions

Question: The authorities are of the opinion that you have heard about the airplanes storming and the hostages liberation and after that have attempted suicide with a cuttler knife.

Irmgard: This is a lie. At 11 p.m. I've

listened to the last news. I knew something will happen now, a decision is made there. But I didn't know which one. That was unbearable to me. Then I felt asleep.

Question: And then?

Irmgard: At some time I heard a kind of muffled noise I couldn't identify. A vehement noise. I haven't thought about a shot, it sounds more like a cupboard falling down or something like that. And then my next perception was me laying under neonlight in the corridor, getting grasped everywhere by people who opened wide my eyes. Then I heard a voice: Baader and Ensslin are dead. After that everything is gone.

Question: From what time on do your memory start again?

Irmgard: I first regained consciousness three days later at the intensive care unit. From that time on I've a continuous memory again.

Question: What kind of injuries have you got?

Irmgard: Four stabs in the chest. The lungs were hurt and also filled up with liquid from the pericardium which was hurt too.

Question: Several medicine experts, some of them from foreign countries, have come to the conclusion that your companions deaths has been suicides.

Irmgard: I know. They of course haven't been objective but were brought in just for that. I know details of the autopsy reports and know f. ex. about an injury of Gudrun that has never been investigated at all.

Question: Who do you think has caused the injuries?

Irmgard: I don't think the warders have done it who run around there immediately. I believe it has been done by a commando. There are anyway different entrances to the prison section.

Question: Even former RAF comrades doubt your account. Monika Helbing f. ex. has called the murder-version a lie. In reality it should have been a propaganda action, the so-called operation "suicide action", with the aim to show the deaths in Stammheim as "Reaction of the fascist State". Also Susanne Albrecht and Ralf Friedrich (former RAF militants, captured in GDR after GDR's break-down) have expressed themselves similarly.

Irmgard: And why are they doing that? They all are people who lived unknown in GDR for a long time, were captured then and want to make profit now from that state-witnesses thing. They are telling such stories now because they have nothing else to offer, nothing else to give evidence.

Question: Are all those who retired from RAF traitors to you?

Irmgard: All these years they have lived in GDR the were no traitors. Now

they are traitors. They surrender and are driven to venality. This was absolutely not necessary. Some of them could be free since a long time if they hadn't incriminated each other. And then they incriminated others of us who shall get new trials now.

Question: You yourself haven't got venal as you call it and have paid a lot for it. Did you ever regret that you went underground by the age of 24 and have decided on armed struggle with all consequences.

Irmgard: Not at all, at no time.

Question: You could have lived a completely different, also a bourgeois live. You could have had children, family.

Irmgard: I have had to forget all that what were the most important points to me then. The situation in Germany wasn't that kind to have children and to live within the resistance.

Question: Don't you perhaps cling to your identity as a resistance fighter for the reason of psychological self-protection? Otherwise all your personal sacrifices would of course have been senseless.

Irmgard: This is an absolutely wrong formulation of the question. I don't want to live a different live at all. If I would only cling to my aim by reasons of self-protection I would be inflexible and incapable and couldn't think no more. Then I would have stopped, would be clinged. You cannot survive that way.

Question: Are you possibly afraid of freedom?

Irmgard: I'm really no prisoner by nature. This is of course absurd. Of course I want to get out of here and work politically outside again. I will not go into illegality but have a political practice on other levels and offer resistance.

Question: How do you imagine the "political struggle" you want to wage in the case of your release?

Irmgard: So, I imagine to have a lot of discussion, to travel about the cities, to look at different political groups. That I will orientate myself absolutely new and find out what is really existing. F. ex. I would like to speak to the people who mobilize against the WES (World Economic Summit). I can't imagine any parliamentary form. This is excluded.

Question: Do you also have very personal aims for a live in freedom, who are not connected to political struggle?

Irmgard: Nothing that stands in contradiction to the political struggle. I don't feel the need to lay anywhere at the strand, absolutely not.

Spiegel: Ms Möller, we thank you for this dialogue.

Summary Justice in Turkey

In a joint operation of the Turkish police, the secret service (MIT) and anti-guerilla-units in Istanbul, 11 persons of Dev Sol (revolutionary left) were murdered. The events were brought in the news here as well. What the newspapers didn't write however was that 10000 people demonstrated at the funeral.

The raid on 7 houses in different parts of the city started on Friday morning, the 17th of April. The exchange of shots continued till 7.30 am, whereby the Turkish cops used machineguns and granates. 6 Women and 5 men were murdered. Another 6 people, of whom 4 were female, got wounded and were arrested.

That the news-bulletins over here broadcasted the news was probably "thanks to" the fact there were t.v. shots to the raid. The people from Dev Sol made telephone calls while their houses were under attack. The t.v. shots also showed that it was out of the question the cops tried to arrest the people. Opposite to this the Turkish cops clearly tried to liquidate the Dev Sol people. Their boddies were riddled.

At the same time there was news about the murdering of 37 persons in North West Kurdistan, among them also guerilla-fighters of the PKK

(Kurdish Workers Party). Both massacres show the practice of the Turkish government. People are no longer arrested, but murdered relentlessly. Three years ago I was, together with another 6 people from the Netherlands, on invitation of the family supportgroup of the political prisoners, in Istanbul. We were there because of the mass-trial against Dev Sol, then at the time already taking 9 years. During a pause we interviewed Sinan Kokul, spokesman of Dev Sol. What impressed me was the moment a soldier tried to hinder the interview. He tried, cause Sinan calmly told him this was out of the question. The soldier protested and reverred to his status but had to slink off. In spite

of the fact they were in jail for years they had kept their dignity. We got some tea from another prisoner. At that time Sabahat Karatas was free. She visited the proces, and, together with many other women, caused a lot of commotion, when someone, who was leaving the proces-ground was dragged into a car by cops, with a gun against the temple. At the gate they demanded an explanation and they didn't let themselves be scared off when the commandant got nervous and instructed his soldiers to step forward with their rifles at the ready. In the end we went away together, without further escalation.

MURDERED

In April last year Olcay Uzun was murdered. We interviewed her as well after she was just released from the police station where she had been for several days and where she had been tortured. She was killed under similar circumstances during a raid at a Dev Sol house at Izmir. Three people whom I've met 3 years ago are murdered. Tayad is a forbidden organization. Demkad (a democratic women association) which we also interviewed is forbidden as well. The repression of the

Turkish state has grown much harsher since then. This is an answer to the growing opposition in the Turkish cities, as well as in north West Kurdistan. The Turkish state has in fact always been covered by the E.C. which, for forms sake, has also made protests once in a while. Since the gulf-war Turkey has unlimited credits. A credit which also assures there is hardly coming any news to western Europe. The Turkish state is trying to make it look like the resistance of Dev Sol and the PKK can easily be conquered and is only supported by a small amount of people. In reality this is the other way around. This was also showed at the funeral of 11 Dev Sol members (note; according to Dev Sol itself some of them were merely sympathizers) on the 21st of April. In the end 80 people succeeded in getting past the police cordon and to be present at the funeral, whereby a Dev Sol banner was unrolled and several Dev Sol flags draped over the coffins. At the same time 10000 demonstrators who shouted parols in support of Dev Sol, clashed with the police. The latter opened fire and arrested about 2000 people

Allard

Translated from the N.N, a Dutch magazine.



In the night from the 16th to the 17th of April 1992 Turkish police massacred 10 members and one female supporter of the Revolutionary Left, Devrimci Sol. The massacre took place in different districts of Istanbul. In one of the flats 3 comrades resisted the killer-commandos for 8 hours. During this time they called Fatma Sesen, former chairwoman of TAYAD, and informed her about the operation.

THE LAST WORDS

0.20 a.m.:

(A woman's voice at the phone)

Sabo: Hello. They've surrounded our house. They came half an hour ago. I'm in the flat with two comrades. Since half an hour we stop them from coming in. We burnt all documents in the bathroom. We've forgotten nothing. Soon they'll start shooting. We are going to fight. We are going to meet Niyazi, Apo and Haydar(1). We are going to meet our comrades who were killed on the 12th of July(2). My comrade standing beside me wants to talk to you.

Eda: We are going to fall as fighters of Devrimci Sol for the peoples of Turkey. We are very well. We are calm. Like our comrades of the 12th of July, in Malatya(3) and in Kizildere(4) we'll also die and resist. Fighting and with a smile on our lips we will welcome death. LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL! LONG LIVE OUR LEADER DURSUN KARATAS! LONG LIVE OUR ARMED REVOLUTIONARY UNITS! Farewell. We love you and our peoples very much.

Sabo: We're calling you because you are the chairwoman of TAYAD (5). We want you to publish what you hear and what we say in your paper for the public of the world. Search ... Leave the flat and call this number. Keep your phone free. Call at once. Have you heard any news about Sinan(6)? Ask for Sinan. Listen to the news. Try to find out something. Wait a moment ...

I repeat. Our house is surrounded. Since half an hour we stop them from coming in. We have burnt all documents, even our passports. Soon the shooting will start. We will fight. We are going to die like our comrades Hamiyet and Olcay(7) in the flats and on the street, like our comrades in the mountains near Malatya with a smile on our lips. We are going to fight here as befits fighters

of Devrimci Sol. You are our witnesses. We want that you tell this to the world's public in your paper. Everything you now are going to hear should be recorded word by word and reported. We want to get buried next to the fallen of the 12th of July. Our coffins shall be covered with the flag of Devrimci Sol. Our people must take part. Help our families and inform them. I have to replace now and will phone you again soon. Keep the line free.



1.20 a.m.:

Sabo: Have you heard anything of Sinan? Have you called him? Have you heard the news? They are talking about him. Please keep the line free. If you have to phone, go outside. (Shots can be heard through the telephone) They have started, can you hear? Do you want me to replace?

Answer: No.

Sabo: Well ...

(Slogans can be heard)
LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL!
DOWN WITH FASCISM!
LONG LIVE OUR STRUGGLE!
LONG LIVE THE 12th JULY MARTYRIES!
LONG LIVE OUR MALATYA-RESISTANCE!
LONG LIVE KIZILDERE!

Sabo: Call number ... You have to reach it absolutely. (Incessant shooting can be heard) Now I have to replace.

2.30 a.m.:

Sabo: Have you heard anything from Sinan? Have you found out anything? Did you reach ...? There are two numbers, they shall phone them. They say they killed Sinan. (Eda's voice can be heard) Don't dare to touch him!

Sabo: The cops are cursing all the time. Especially me they are swearing at. But they get the answer they deserve. Probably you can hear it. When they came, they said they were from the tax office. They wanted to

talk with "Madame Sabahat". (Shots can be heard and slogans, the doorbell rings and there is beating against the door).

LONG LIVE OUR ARMED REVOLUTIONARY UNITS!
LONG LIVE OUR LEADER DURSUN KARATAS!
LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL!

Sabo: We looked through the spy-hole and saw policemen in bulletproof vests. They say, Sinan is dead. Give me news about him. And phone from outside. Now they are on top of our base and try to drill a hole into the ceiling. (Shooting, there is beating against the door and swear-words can be heard: You whores, come out! To the right, to the right ...)

Edas voice: Come with your tanks and canons, come in, after all you are even afraid of our corpses. We will follow you into your dreams. You quake with fear. Come in! You even do not dare to show your toes. Do not think you can hide. You're wrong. If there is only a single hole somewhere, we will get through it. You will not escape our people's justice. Our comrades will punish you. (Again swearing by the police can be heard).

Sabos voice: You have thousands of mothers and fathers. Your father is Bush and your mother is Manukyan(8) You sewer rats, that is where you were born and raised!

(Slogans)

LONG LIVE OUR REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S JUSTICE!

LONG LIVE OUR ARMED REVOLUTIONARY UNITS!
LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL!

(A lot of shooting can be heard and that the police tries to break into the door. In every pause of the telephone call they say "Farewell")

Sabo: They are throwing gas through the chimney. We are in the 12th floor. The cops threaten to throw us out of the 12th floor. And they say, that this flat belongs to the organisation. They try to break into the door. The door is steelmade. They made a big hole into it. (Many shots can be heard). Farewell. I will go to help my comrades. (Again shooting and slogans):

LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL!

LONG LIVE OUR LEADER DURSUN KARATAS!

LONG LIVE THE COMRADESHIP BETWEEN THE KURDISH AND THE TURKISH PEOPLES!

THE KURDISH AND THE TURKISH PEOPLES WILL BEAT FASCISM!

(Shooting)

Sabo: We have strengthened the barricade, they cannot open the door. One comrade is wounded at the arm. They say that they killed Sinan. Tell me how he is ... Call ... Ask for "uncle". The friends will understand. The cops are talking about an appartement and they speak of Sinan and Günes. They say, that they raided many flats. Possibly it can be a big blow. You have to find out, listen to the news. (Shooting and slogans)

Sabo: Now the cops prepare blastings. We are well, we are calm. (It is possible to hear the swear-words of the police and the answers of the comrades). Like red pinks we will blossom all over the country.

Edas voice: The flag of Devrimci Sol will wave all over the country. (Words of the police about Sinan can be

heard, also swearing which cannot be understood clearly).

The answers: Do not dare to touch Sinan! Our comrades will punish you. Nothing can save you!

Sabo: I am thinking, I want to help my comrades. I force myself. I do not know how they could find us. I do not know - but when I've been out this morning everything was all right. I've passed ... But I did not notice anything strange there. Everything must have happened today. I try to think and force myself to find out what is the reason, but I have no idea. We have burnt all documents. We have a can filled with oil here anyway. We have burnt all passports and also the money. We do not want them to get it. Sorry. There is still something in our pockets, we did not control them yet. We have burned everything, nothing is left. We want you to transmit this. Now nothing is left. (Shooting and slogans)

Listen, I have two more comrades. Very worthy comrades, they have fought very good.

(Slogans and the shooting of MP-5 and G-3).

Edas voice: My people - don't believe them, they lie ... (the rest cannot be understood).

Sabo: The people standing outside are on our side. Except one woman ... We have given her a proper answer. You have to inform the newspaper to send journalists to here. I want to see my friends. Send the mothers of TAYAD to here. Our address: near the Meteorological Institute in Göztepe, parallel to the Bagdad Street, in the Karasu high-rised building. You'll realize because of the police contingent when you're coming near. (Everytime the call is interrupted she says "Farewell", shooting and slogans can be heard). I am wounded at the arm. The bullet went through. But I can continue shooting. They are trying to blow th wall of the bathroom. (An explosion can be heard and slogans). They could only blow a small hole into the wall. We are going to strengthen it. (It can be heard that furniture is carried and pulled around). They knew exactly that I was here. They say that they killed Sinan. They are talking about an appartement in Ikizler. Yes, that is correct, "uncle" is there. Listen to the news and tell me what you hear. I am wondering how I could help my comrades. I do not know, how it happened and came to this. This morning I passed ... I was "clean". Everything was all right this morning. I do not know what happened afterwards. I do not know, I do not know.

(Her interlocutor tells, that she had spoken with the press but could not listen to the police radio. She tells that she had found out that the police had attacked 2 flats. In one of them 3 persons were killed, among them Sinan, in the other one person was killed).

Sabo: We are calm, we are well. We are going to fight till our last drop of blood. (It can be heard that they are swearing at the police).

Edas voice: Come in with your tanks and canons, you cowards! (Again swearings by the police and the answers):

You sewer rats! You're only able to think with your prick! (Now the shooting becomes more frequent).

Sabo: Like our comrades on the 12th of July and in the mountains near Malatya have welcomed death, we are

also going to welcome death like Hamiyet and Olcay ...
I want to turn towards my comrades ... (Frequent shooting and slogans)

LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL!

LONG LIVE OUR 12th JULY-RESISTANCE!

LONG LIVE KIZILDERE!

LONG LIVE DURSUN KARATAS!

LONG LIVE OUR RESISTANCE!

LONG LIVE OUR RESISTANCE! DOWN WITH FASCISM!

LONG LIVE DEVRIMCI SOL!

LONG LIVE OUR GÖZTEPE-RESISTANCE!(9)

6.45 a.m.:

(Now they cannot come to the phone too often. To reach the phone they have to crawl along the floor. Later Sabo gets wounded at her leg. Nearly after an hour they turn towards the people on the street. Their voices are not well to understand, they sound far away).

Sabo: They are preparing to blast the door. The telephone is just beside the door, so we cannot come her. Now we will withdraw into the back. They are coming in.

(The last call):

Sabo: We are embracing death with our weapons in our hands and our slogans on our lips. Send my regards to my husband and leader, to the leader of Devrimci Sol. I want you to send my regards to all comrades. Farewell ...

(Terribly lots of shooting can be heard and how the cartridge cases are falling to the floor).

7.15 a.m.:

(The noise of the shoots is terribly loud as if hundreds were shooting. Then there is a crack in the line. They're voices cannot be heard any longer, only shoots).

7.25 a.m.:

(The line is cut off ...)

Explanations:

(1) Apo and Haydar: Killed in death hunger strike in 1984.

(2) 12th of July: Massacre in 1991, when 12 members of Devrimci Sol were killed in Istanbul, among them also Niyazi

(3) Malatya: 5 members of Devrimci Sol were killed there in March 1992.

(4) Kizildere: Village where leading cadres of the THKP/C were killed.

(5) TAYAD: Society of the relatives of political prisoners, banned in 1991.

(6) Sinan: Leader of Devrimci Sol, killed on the 17th of April.

(7) Hamiyet and Olcay: Members of Devrimci Sol, killed in Izmir.

(8) Manukyan: Bawd, who is very famous in Turkey, she pays the highest tax.

(9) Göztepe: District of Istanbul where the appartement is located.



GREECE

Resistance against the restructuring according to IMF/EC

In april 1990 the right-wing NEA DEMOKRATIA (New Democracy, N.A.) won the elections to the parliament after many years of government by the corrupt socialdemocratic PASOK. The N.A. started a broad neo liberal program to deeply restructuize Greece with the intent of bringing the country into line with the demands of the multinationals and their institutions IMF/EC...

To the people this means first of all rapidly increasing poverty, deep cuts from social and public services and increasing repression. However it also intrudes deeply into the social relations of the greek society to push through the economic changes.

After all Greece is an example to what it means if a country is meant to get the connection to the "leading industrial nations" - if in Greece, in Spain, in the ex-GDR, in the ex-USSR... an example for capitalism in crisis.

However Greece is also an example for a broad resistance of the people on many levels - from the organising of pupils to strikes to guerilla.

It's our luck that this resistance is so strong that it was noticeable in northern europe - for that's still by no means a matter of course in europe. What reached us are only fragments: of the attacks of the state, of the organizing, of the whole situation. We tried to put it together in a way that it can give an impression of what is going on in Greece. We hope that it's almost accurate - and that you will revise it!

(Perhaps it should also be noticed, that this article was meant to be published in the february-issue, but ... So it isn't REALLY current, but of course it is still very INTERESTING.)

THE 17th NOVEMBER 1973

On this particular day the technical university of Athens (Polytechnion) was occupied by students. This meant the beginning of the end of the dictatorship, that had lasted 7 years. The students were shot to pieces with tanks. 50 persons were killed and many wounded. The junta of papadopoulos was replaced by an even more radical right-wing clique. This "government" lasted only for one year, then they had to withdraw because of inner resistance, the political pressure from outside and because of their last big failure: the attempted coup on Cyprus which was followed by the turkish occupation.

The fascist officers of the time of the junta are all imprisoned in the Korydallos prison in Athens, in a wing especially installed for them. Lately they got prominent company: the banker and financier of the greek political elite - Koskotas. But back to the 17th of November. Every year on this day the Greek people take the opportunity to remember and protest against facism. Big demonstrations with tenths of thousands of people are held. Everyone who calls her/himself a democrat - from right wing or left wing - is in the streets. Mostly there are two demonstrations. Almost every year there are riots at the radical left edge.

To the beginning some events of 1990:

February: A policeman who had shot a 15 years old demonstrant, was acquitted of guilt. To his own defending he had claimed that the schoolboy had thrown a molozow cocktail. In protest to this judgement the Polytechnio, a big university center in Athens is occupied for 16 days.

April: The right-wing Nea Demokratia wins the parliament-elections

June: The teachers are striking for 1 month for better payment and against the installation of an aptitude test (=a snooping around for the candidates political conviction, depending on if he/she belongs to the right party) in the recruitment procedure. The government arranges a press-campaign against them and tries to stir up the pupils against the teachers - because the strike takes place during the examination-period, the teachers would "steal them a year". Nevertheless the pupils are solidaric with the teachers. Police surrounds the schools. In the end the strike has no success.

November: In Athens about 1000 prisoners occupy the Korydallos prison for 36 days because of the lousy and brutal circumstances of their imprisonment. (See the article "prison revolt in Athens")

November/December: A big strike at the state-owned power-stations gets crushed as well as strikes against the sale of state-owned companies by which thousands loose their jobs (see the declaration of the

"17. November").

Oftenly the MAT, a brutal special unit of the police are brought into action against the strikers.

During the year 1990 the government initiates 3 important legislative initiatives:

Anti-Strike-Law:

Strikes have to be announced to the management and the government 1 month earlier. The works committee has to choose 35 % of the staff to carry on the production and to ensure that the company won't be hurt by the strike.

Anti-Terrorism-Law:

"Suspects" can be arrested and interrogated up to 4 days without consulting an advocat. The persecution of politically unpopular persons or groups as Terroristic Organization will get easier. The longest possible period of detention while awaiting trial is extended from 1 1/2 to 2 years.

Education-Law:

To be re-introduced are the school uniform, the school prayer, the flag call, ancient greek lessons as duty. To be newly introduced are a more differentiated assessing system, more examinations, assessments of behavior in- and OUTside of the school. To be abolished are, by taking the universities into private ownership, the right of free education, the last halls, the free canteen meals, the Asylum (that the cops are not allowed to enter the university, see "November the 17th 1973"). The universities as centers of political unrest are meant to be moved from the city centre to the outskirts.

The school children are the first able to stop the broad attack of the state and to create serious difficulties for the government. During the winter 90/91 they occupy 90 % of all schools in Greece, organize big demonstrations and in the end force the government to withdraw the new Education Law for the present.

However this will be continued at the bottom. The following part is meant to describe the situation in the country more in detail.

For the most part it is taken from an anarchist austrian magazine, TATblatt from winter 91/92.

IMPOVERISHMENT

The IMF commends Greece. The programme of radical "De-Nationalization" get's pushed through, thousands have lost their jobs, many islands have been sold, the prices are rising fast. In october 91 the prices for food rose for about 55%. The rents are rising from month to month. The average monthly wage (about 650 \$) is hardly sufficient to keep a family. The wage rise is about 4%.

Above that the unemployment is increasing rapidly and has just reached 40% in some parts of the country. Especially because the government has sold many state owned enterprises very cheap to multinational companies, that then close the (in most cases) unprofitable enterprises and fire the workers.



Still many unemployed get care packets by the local communities. Invalids and pensioners are concerned particularly. Many of them have to live from 200 or 300 \$. To the youth coming from the disastrous public education system the situation is catastrophic. Still in school or university they have to work inter alia to pay the private support lessons; the whole country, especially Athens, is in an almost ridiculous way peppered with support schools and other privat schools.

STRIKES

The people are fighting against all that. October 22th the pensioners were on the streets in several cities, November 7th and 8th the building workers demonstrated, in the health sector there were strikes and occupations. Also in factories they struck and occupied them. On November 7th the GSEE (the general unions association) organized a general strike in which tens of thousands participated. It was directed against the high living costs, the sell out of the state enterprises.

OTAN

The country is getting armed for war, the south front of the OTAN shall be extended.

During the gulf war the licences for the OTAN-bases on Crete were prolonged, although there was a strong mobilization against the militarization of the island and it's change to a central OTAN base in the mediterranean sea.

After 75 F-16 fighters with atomic weapons have already been transferred from Spain to South Italy, now Greece shall get 20 F-16 in addition to the 40 they still have. Further there are 40 Mirage. November 1st the Bush administration announced that Greece will buy 20 helicopters, 446 anti-tank-rockets and some more high-tech stuff for all together 505 million \$.

REFUGEES

Extremely brutal alien laws are in preparation. A draft version is saying that an alien is only after 5 years allowed to get his family to join him. Daily aliens are carried off from public squares by the police and are expelled subsequently. An Albanian who wanted to flee to Greece was shot by the police. It was a warning shot they claimed - the shot hit him in his heart! He was about 25 years old and had 20 \$ in his pockets.

SQUATTING

In Athens there are 5 squatted houses (11/91 !). Since the beginning of the greek squatting movement in the early 80s there have always been autonomous groups squatting houses against exorbitant rents and speculation. In the course of the years there has been a changing number of occupied houses between which there are contacts and of course some solidarity as well as some common activities. However there are also some differences of opinion and argument about the political line. The ones accuse the others of being hidden Marxists, leninists, Trotskists ..the others think, that the anarchist groups wouldn't make any relevant action etc. The solidarity of the neighbours is big. After some evictions they have even made solidarity rallies. Especially in the schools around Athens there's very much sympathy for the squatters.



DEALERS

A few months ago there was an action against dealers in Athens. There's a square near the Polytechnio, the Exerchaio-Square, where traditionally the autonomous people and also other leftists meet. There's also a small junkie-scene. As the dealers walked abroad and the old strategy "Heroin to the ghettos" became apparent again, the autonomous people started a counter-attack. Armed with sticks, clubs and molotov-cocktails they stormed the square and beat up the dealers, destroyed all hard drugs they could find and smashed the car of one dealer. Also the windows of a bank were affected. Result: no more dealers at the Exerchaio-Square.

CENSORSHIP

In summer 91 the left-liberal daily newspaper "Eleftherotypia" (Free Press) published a declaration of "November 17th". That was up to then not unusual but, according to the often criticized new anti-terrorist law, now forbidden. Promptly the public prosecutor appeared at the editorial office and took the chief editor into custody. That caused a big public commotion and the next day 7 other newspapers also published the declaration. All 8 chief editors were charged for "advertising and supporting a terroristic connection". The chief editor of Eleftherotypia was sentenced to a few weeks in prison or alternatively a small fine. But he refused to pay the fine, which for the government would have been the best end of this embarrassing affair. Very sorry but we don't know how this story ended. Do you?



Chief editors at the court

PRISON-REVOLT IN ATHENS



"Korydallos burning", "26 brought to trial because of the revolt" and "Revolt and deception" were the headlines of the left liberal greek newspaper Eleftherotypia ("Free press") connected with the big prison revolt in Athens' prison Korydallos in October 1991. The first October nearly one year after the last big revolt in autumn 1990 the prisoners vented their anger anew. They felt cheated by the government and demanded the keeping of the promises that had been made to them one year before.

In the evening of the 1. Oct. in the 3. wing some prisoners took two guards hostages and opened the cells of their co-prisoners. 288 prisoners joined the rebellion. (The 1990 rebellion had started from the same wing. It lasted 36 days and about 1000 prisoners from the whole prison took part in it.) In no time they destroyed their cell-windows, put fire to their mattresses and retreated on the roof.

Their two demands:

the binding establishment of the possibility of early release from prison after 2/3 of the sentence and the possibility of early release after 16 years of imprisonment, to stop finally the usual despotism in these issues.

The prisoners felt deceived and cheated by the government because these two demands had been promised firmly to them one year before. They had even been part of a

legislative initiative of the minister of justice at that time who is known as a liberal. He was highly praised by the prisoners then and they retreated in their cells nearly euphoric after the - as they thought - successful rebellion, with the won concessions in the bag. The new minister of justice didn't mention to these concessions at all in his draft bill.

Other demands that then should at least be looked into were the following:

The abolition of the exclusion from sexual life. At that time the government wanted to try to create visiting-facilities "without optical and acoustical surveillance" for wives. A right to work was promised with social-, medical- and pension insurance, also the right to vote was part of the draft bill. The prison-drugstores should become cheaper and get more and better merchandise. Experiments with prisoners, a legacy of the military junta, should at last be forbidden. Nothing of all that has been translated into action. "In contrary the living conditions in the greek prisons have become even more cruel instead of getting better ... Beating, isolation and punishment are still testimonies of the ruling view on the penal system ... The

greek prisons seem like a time-bomb who's explosion is just a question of time." (Eleftherotypia, 3.10.91). Because of its political weakness brutal police force spreading fear and terror is the only method the ruling system is able to think of.

The rebellion did only last for one evening. Warned by the hot autumn of 1990 the prison head immediately alarmed special police forces. They rounded up the jail and prepared the storming of the 3. wing. The prisoners realized this just when they wanted to red out their demands. Instead they threw more wood on their fires and called upon their co-prisoners to support them. But before the news of the revolt could spread from the 3. to the 4. wing, the special forces MAT and EKAM smoke-screened the building with about hundred tear gas granates (some of them also reached the neighbours) and started to storm it. "our protest is peaceful and regular. We just demand that the government keeps what it has promised to us" the prisoners shouted before they were beaten from the roof.

2 1/2 weeks later 26 of the 288 mutineers that are all imprisoned because of slight delicts or on custody were brought to trial.

Because of denunciations of policemen and guards they were accused of being the leaders of the revolt. In a fast procedure of only 4 days 3 of them were sentenced to 20 months each, 14 to 16 months each and 9 were absolved.



SCHOOLCHILDRENS MOVEMENT

The educational system in our days is one of the peak issues, not only of the education itself, but also of the whole social evolution. It therefore becomes a question of the highest importance for all social movements and its solution is continuously dealt with within the context of every single group or individual.

The educational system is one of the worst in the whole world. It is obsolete, formalistic and anti-humanistic. It complies, of course, with the rest of greek society, which is highly alienating, especially under the present economic conditions.

In spite of the above, however, greek society has got amuch higher degree of "sociality" than other european countries have. This "sociality" looses daily territory, due to the EEC standards which are being imposed on the country by the IMF and all the other institutions of this kind.

Children are the first and the main victims of this kind of "modernisation". They are loosing their playgrounds and their playtime. They are also loosing their "sociality" due to their being obliged to grow and live in flats, thus being deprived not only of friends, but even of the very ideas of friendship, community, solidarity etc. For them, the only room to develop a social personality and to maintain these idea-values, is the school. During the years that followed the fall of the military junta (1974), we have witnessed an "intensification" of studies which was claimed by the different governments to "cover new sectors of knowledge" like electronics, informatics, biology, nuclear physics etc. in an effort of combining educational and economic needs and perspectives.

So far, the situation is reasonable, at least from a purely capitalist point of view. Irrationalism begins when nationalist aspects of the greek society appear. Religion and Homeland matters deeply influence our educational system. Last year, after a short interval (1981-1989) of an "educational reform" the ministry of education announced

its intention to impose on the schoolchildren to pray every morning and to wear a uniform. This was the start of the unrest. It was soon followed by other oppressive measures, such as more school hours, re-insertion of ancient greek lessons into the programs of high schools etc. Schoolchildren reacted, occupying their schools (in January 1990 more than 90% of the schools throughout the country were occupied by their pupils) Monday after the winter holidays some rightist lawyers, citizens and teachers tried to storm some schools under the cover of the police but the pupils were able to block some. In this situation, heated up by the government, in Patras a group of N.A.-followers (led by the youth-secretary of the N.A.) stormed a school and killed a solidaric teacher by beating him with iron bars. All aver Greece the students went on the streets now; enormous demonstrations took place, just in Athens, they have been 100 000. Party offices of the N.A. burned down, the minister of education retreated and all schools that hadn't been occupied any more were re-occupied now. Furthermore the teaches started a nationwide support strike.

In Athens the cops tried to break the demonstration with teargas. They turned the city into a civil war scenery: about 5000 school children, students and anarchists answered the brutal action of the police with stones and molotov-cocktails and forced the cops to retreat. During the whole night the city centre of Athens was blocked by burning barricades, stores got plundered and N. A. - offices and bancs destroyed.

One of the 2000 tear gas granates the cops shot of chopped through the window of a big store that began to burn (the tear gas granates the cops use are extremely hot and can cause fires as well as severe burns). As a result 4 peoples died in the flames. The same day everywhere enormous demonstrations take place; the street fights in Athens continue. Also in Patros, Thessaloniki and on Crete there are smaller

fights. After the third day of big demonstrations the government withdrew it's educational-law.

The burst out of the Gulf War, finally, put an end to the unrest - if not revolt - which had already infected technical schools and universities and had gained support, thus seriously threatening the government. During the summer, the government tried to gain the consensus of the political parties of the opposition and started a "national dialogue on education". The opposition, but also the teachers' unions and, above all, the schoolchildren rejected the governments proposals.

In September, the government went on imposing more oppressive measures, such as exams at the elementary schools, exams at each high-school year, more religion and ancient greek lessons etc. Starting October, the schoolchildren started once more occupying schools, to protest and oppose this situation. The government mobilized its followers and incited them to attack the occupied schools. On Octpber 10, the pro-government press announced that "a boy of 15 years had raped a 12 year girl at an occupied school!" The story was very soon proved false, but this belying ever reached the fron pages. This was the signal for more attacks of "enraged parents and citizens" against the occupied schools.

On October 18, schoolchildren in Athens organized a march to the ministry of education. The minister, Souflias, refused to receive a manifestats' committee. Instead of that, he ordered the police to violently disperse the crowd (more than 2.000 young boys and girls). Police started tear- and choke- gassing the children, who set fire to garbage lots in order to protect themselves from the gases, as they were thrying to retreat to the Polytechnic school. Many manifestants were seriously injured.

On October 24., the children organized another march to the ministry. This time they were attacked by groups of plainclothes cops and governing-party followers, who



threw stone against the children and beat them with sticks and iron bars. The demonstrators retreated to the Polytechnic attacked by the police and private security men some more times. At the Polytechnic they barricaded the streets but had to retreat into the school after the police used tons of tear-, smoke- and choking gas against them. During these clashes 6 people were arrested, some of them just because of their appearance. (In this context see for the declaration of Thanassis Haldoupis, one of the six arrested, on these pages).

The clashes continued all night long, outside the Polytechnic and in the streets nearby. The atmosphere was choking with gases. Late at night, the Dean of the Polytechnic, Nikos Markatos, pleaded with the police to stop throwing dases and tried to escort the manifestants out of the Polytechnic and out of the police collar. But, as soon as they came out, the cops started throwing gas at them, while the "enraged citizens" (plainclothes cops, governing-party-followers and all kinds of fascists, organized into groups, threw stones to the people and hit with sticks, truncheons and iron bars). Some of the manifestants ran back to the Polytechnic, seeking safety.

At about 3 a.m. an historical building of the university started to burn, either because of the fascists or because of the tear gas grenades of the cops. In the morning the police got the permission by the dean to storm the Polytechnic. This was the first time since the November 17, in 1973 that the police entered the university. 28 people were arrested and taken into custody.

On October 29, the 6 arrested during the clashes (except Thanassis Haldoupis) were convicted with extremely high penalties between 5 and 7 years. The 28 arrested during the evacuation of the Polytechnic were convicted to one year in prison, 6 were declared not guilty and set free. Shortly after midnight of the same day the organisation "November 17" attacked a riot police bus (MAT) with missiles. One policeman was killed, 6 more were wounded.

The next day, November 2., the pupils organized a demonstration to break through the desinformation campaign of the government. Thereby 33 people were arrested for fly-posting and handing out leaflets. They were all taken to the police headquarters, both at the anti-terrorist department and at the department for the protection of the state. They have been brutally beaten up and tortured. One of the girls who was pregnant was banged against the wall with her head for various times. They beat up the boys while the girls were forced to watch. Two boys hung out a window at the feet to blackmail testimonies from them. Two others had to be sent to a hospital because of the torture. The 33 then started a hungerstrike. Some days later they were convicted to 6 months in prison, but finally they made an application for a new appeal and in the meanwhile they are free.

On November 10, during a protest demonstration 50 persons were arrested but had to be released shortly afterwards because of the protest of some left-wing parliamentarians and a quiet broad public.

A STATEMENT BY ONE OF THE ARRESTED DURING THE SCHOOLCHILDREN'S MANIFESTATIONS ON OCTOBER 1991



In spite of my situation which did not allow me to be present at my trial I consider that I should not remain silent as far as the events are concerned.

On Oct. 24, 1991 our march started from the Polytechnic and reached the Ministry of Education.

Some pupils tried to meet Souflias (the minister) but he did not receive them.

As the delegation came back slogans started being shouted and eggs were thrown against the building. The manifestants walked on towards the Ministry and started pushing back the police who were guarding it.

Suddenly a group of 30-40 persons - plain clothed policemen with beards and long hair - emerged all together from a narrow street behind the ministry, holding long wooden sticks.

The manifestants tried to react as best as they could answering the beating.

There was a total mess, many ran to help the children who were fallen on the street, others ran to save themselves.

The slogan "COPS - PIGS - ASSASSINS" filled the atmosphere as the whole march started running towards Syntagma square. A few metres further, down Panepistimiou Street I was arrested because of a phrase written on my school bag: "THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HEROIN IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE STATE".

The hungry of Lavrion (a region near Athens where the unemployed - 100% of the population - are virtually starving to death due to the privatization policy of the government), the revolt of Hania (last year against the US-bases in Crete) and Iraklio (this year against the economic policy of austerity), the intimidated and pauperized albanian refugees, the sick by heroin unimpedingly sold by dealers outside our schools, the misery, the poverty in our homes, the lies of the Educational System which promises diplomas and false hopes to the "good students of the private preparatory schools", the dirt of the "political persons" and of the "KOSKOTADES" (the author

of the well known Bank-of-Crete Scandal which costs the country more than 200 B drachmas) of every kind and size, the workers who every now and then go to the streets, sold out by their own unions, the prisoners stuck in the prisons by the brutality and the barbarism of the system ...

... ALL THOSE

... TOOK TO THE STREETS ALONG WITH US and along with them we have expressed our opposition and our disgust to the authoritarian system which wants us neurless, soulless to react, followers, handclappers, eternal victims.

From this position I demand FREEDOM for my 5 co-prisoners who are in the Korydallos prison (Note: the 5 are finally imprisoned in the Larissa prison, 215 km from Athens)

and I appeal

to the people who insist thinking with dignity and are not brought out - the pupils are such a part of the population - to react, because these sentences (the 5 are already sentenced to 5-8 years of prison) are just the prelude to a whole series of "the same" against who ever dare raise his head.

I express my solidarity to the "Polytechnic 27" whose trial has not yet ended.

Thanassis Haldoupis, Student of the A Luceum of the 4th Technical Professional Luceums Compound of Athens

17 years old

Prisoner at the Athens General State Hospital, 31st October 1991

P.S.: To the newspapers which have told half the truth, I have to say: YES, the crisis I had at the court was something like an epileptic crisis, but I am not an epileptic. I suffered this epileptic crisis due to the beating in the police-van and at the Security police Headquarters, to the undescrivable conditions of my detention, to the threatening and the blackmailing of the "You'll finally tell us what we want you to tell"-kind.

All that combined with a recent operation on my head have created a craniocerebral damage whose results were shown at the court.

The organisation 17th of November

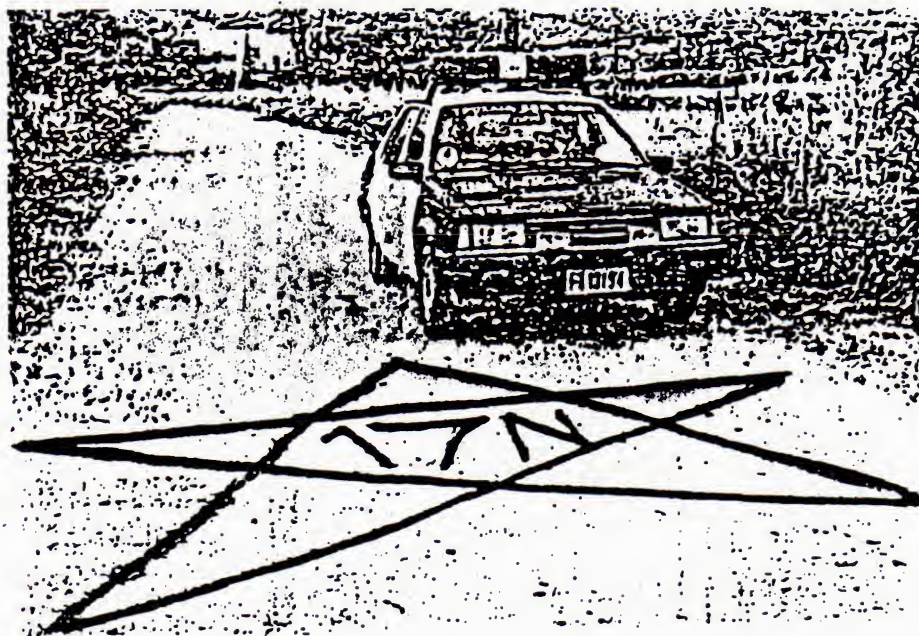
1. The pushing through of a brutal, economical raid on the income of the people by the organs of the western capital, the EC, the IMF and the western banks, means a heavy attack on the living-standard of those affected. The imposal of tough conditions as a guarantee for the loans (EC), the continuous sending of western inspectors to control the internal economical course, the imposed saving-programme, the foreseeable imposal of new tough measures in case of the granting of a second partial payment, which is very likely, will match a total bankruptcy. This means an international economical control comparable with the model of 1897- it will just be brought in line with the current conditions. Just as it was before, the current economical politics of the government are being determined completely by the western capital, not by the Greek centres of power: beginning with the taxes. Nowadays new taxes and a jurisdiction on taxes based on deceit and systematical fraud; the rates of the DEKO (the organisation of the public institutions) up to the expences done by the government, the income of the people, the social security-payments and the pension-rates; the investments in the economical branches are

also fitting the wishes of western capital. It looks like this marks the end of an economical independence which had until now not been reduced. The real goals of the programme are not the limitation of the deficits, a policy of stabilization or even development (modernization). The real aims are hidden behind the crisis of the banks, the regulations (taking them into private ownership) and the search for new sources by selling out state-owned companies. This is the beginning of the last sstage in a course which has already began a few years ago and which includes a sell-out for give-away prices and the dissolvment of 'the most important parts and branches of the Greek industry. The state and the old swindling owners are the ones that sell everything to western capital. This is what is happening now with the cement-industry, certain parts of the textile-industry, the Larko and other metal-processing industry and with certain other branches. The instruments to push through this policy are the high foreign deaths of 23 billion dollars in connection with the deficit in the balance of trade and the necessity of foreign loans. At the same time however our country is absolutely right in demanding

the payment by the 3. Reich state of war repairmentcosts which, corresponding with professor angelopoulos amount to 31 billion dollars. As well as the repaiment of forced loans (money which has been exported from Greece during the occupation) up to the amount of 13 billion dollars.

Let us make the remark that this justified demand is not taking place at a time when the german economy is weakened, like it was when the French demanded their compensation in the agreement of Versailles;- or like today's barbarian demands by the West towards Iraq. A country which they themselves destroyed completely. It is about a wealthy overdeveloped country which, together with Japan has one of the strongest economies of the world and is using it to gain even more waelth in foreign countries. Just a while ago this Germany financed the Gulf war and -in connection with this -a genocide, with 6,5 billion dollars. It feely gives aid worth 1.5 billion DM to the democratic Turkey. It gives "aid" worth several billions of DM and buys companies in Eastern Europe and other countries. There are therefore no ojective reasons of weakness which would justify Germany's

The organisation 17th of November has done spectacular actions, especially at their start. For example they killed U.S.torture-specialists and military-advisers who worked for the junta. Officially 15 killings and a dozen of bomb-attacks are ascribed to them. Now and then they attack miilitary depots to get weapons. One spectacular action was the raid on a police-station were they got hold of all the weapons present. these weapons were showed in colour ,-especially in red-, with on the background pictures of Marx and Veloujotis (partizan leader in the Greek civil war), on photographs published in a lot of newspapers. In one of them even on the front-page. Eversince there are police patrols with machine-guns in front of all police-stations. Another trick they played on the state with the capturing of anti-tank defence-ammunition from army-bar-racks. The rocket-launcher belonging to the ammunition, they got out of a weapon-museum of the state. "The thing still worked", as they sneered afterwards. Supposedly the cops don't know a thing about the structures and size of the 17th November. Besides they did not succeed in arresting anyone.



refusal to pay compensation-money. It should therefore be obvious to everyone that if the German state would only repay a quarter of its debts, that the situation of the Greek economy, in connection with the foreign debts, would rapidly change- although it wouldn't have that much effect with regard to the problems that exist in building up the country. Nevertheless the country wouldn't find itself forced to save money from social and economical budgets, and wouldn't suffocate because of this policy. Consequently the divisions of the western capital would have to give up their buying-up-policy as well as the acquirement of the inner control. The current repayment of compensations would completely destroy the instrument to conquer the greek economy. This instrument consists of a foreign debt, the sell-out of the greek economy and the acquirement of control in a country by means of the western companies. It's not a matter of paying back in 5-drachme-coins, a few dozen at the time, this doesn't bring about only improvement in the balance.

Well....,after the N.D. (nea demokratia)- government- this decadent (decay-bringing) pathetic government, practically gave away the cement-factory Xalips to the French, it's now preparing to hand over the entire cement-industry. This means both Xalkidas and above all the strongest and most profitable company in Europe; the Aget company. Yesterday's sale was a gift of L+wenbrau to the germans and of Olympic Katering to the Dutch. The handover of Elembe (which had been buying military stocks for more than ten years which are still stored in english warehouses), are followed by the ones of Pireus, Patras and other parts of the textile-industry. Larko and Skalistiri will follow as well- while the sell-out of eav has taken place already. The decadence (decay) and the obsequiousness of the government had goen beyond all limits in the last case, because the american firm Lockheed received 68 million dollar,

which belonged to our country. In a row of disgraceful procedures they handed over the whole management of the firm to the Lockheed-concern. They gave them an astronomical salary and advanced payments of 5 million dollar in all together 14 independant cases. A firm which should of course be in the hands of the Greeks can no longer give air-defence against the turkish expansion policy. The total worth of the firms which have been sold is about 1.2 trillion drachmes. The government of decadence cashed about 250 billion drachmes. So the scandal does not only arise from a sell-out of valuable production-capacity, which nearly becomes traditional, to the western big business under humiliating conditions. But also because this is a case of high treason; making the Koskotas-scandal (big swindler and former owner of the bank of Crete, who's bribing caused the fall of the PASOK-(panhellenistic socialist party) government) seems a minor thing when compared to this scandal. And when there would be a political opposition and press nowadays, they would have pilloried these offences and be very eager to applicate them. In case there would have been an independant and bribe-free justice, they would have charged those reponsible and put them in the dock. Those responsible for this act of high treason against our country are the same as those, who have decided and pushed through the sell-out for give-away prices. We mention some names: the corrupt patriarch Mitsotakis (prime minister of the nea demokratia) and the western agents, the minister of economy I. paleokrassas, the deputy-minister of national economy Efth. Xristodoulos, the minister of industry S. Dimas and his deputy. Also V. Mantsoris and the president of the OAE G. Gianopoulos bear responsibility. The two last ones have reached the point of reporting charges because of the treaty, that ELINTA '90 undersigned with the english NEI-company; in which they arranged the export of 250.000 pieces of

electrical equipment. ELINTA should consequently be liquidated.

The present situation of the country shows great similarities with the situation during the times of the roman conquest. Just like in those days democracy was just an empty word. Because in fact there was no law-making and executive power. Just like today the parliamentarianism is a theatre, because the economical policies of the country are being ocntrolled by the EC, the IMF, and the western banks and not by the people of Greece.

Just like in those days the romans controlled, in the middle of a pseudo-democracy, their "clients": local deputies, who established order for the romans. Also today the western rulers have their "clients", their politicians, their judges, their high-ranks officers within the army and police and their major businessmen.

Like in those days writers idolize the romans, their slaughters and conquests and praise them into the skies, today the thing is done by the press and by a part of the intellectuals. Just like then, they place statues and remembrances, just like today. Like then the Athen people prepared celebrations, according to their character which was deprived of any dignity; the Sullia-celbrations, at the expence of their slaughtering by Sylla (roman-chairman of Athens, who terrorized the population and made many blood-sacrifices). Like this also today the decadent politicians of the nea demokratia are rewarding Genschel, in which they organize celbrations on Crete, at the expence of the continuing sacrifices by the "greek 3th reich", because the germans refuse to pay compensation. Like in those days it was only the ordinary people that resisted the roman conquest and their local collaborators in the end. And also today the only ones, outside of the political parties and unions, who are fighting with all means against the undignifying sell-out of a country, which is three-continualizing and chan-

ging in a country dictated by the international institutions. Large groups of people are confronted with the logical consequence of this policy by the international institutions, which is a terrible ongoing wave of price-lifts and more and more depressing survival problems. Naturally this includes the exploding rise of unemployment. And while the people are getting more and more outraged and angry against this policy -prepared to start a real fight to overthrow the government of decadence and not only by strikes- the throwing-sand-in-the-eyes-policy is on its highest point. Pasok, as well as Synaspismos (left coalition from the communist party and 4 other small left-wing socialist parties) have left the employees completely alone, have agreed in the attack, don't dare to stand against the patrons of the ruling western capital, and are chewing the stories on stabilization and modernization again and again. After all does the continuing trial, the ope-retta of the Koskota-scandal, precisely reflect the situation of the country. This respected and distressed dwarfs try to regain respect again... While they are slandered and humiliated by hired fake whitesses, scum and other players that appear on stage. Every day people laugh about the parties and the press because they continue to support the "Katharsis" (cleaning up, which means here: an operation, started by the former coalition of conservatives and communists directed against the PASOK of Papandrou to prosecute those involved in bribery, which led to the fall of Papandreou, bringing him to court. A lot of people in Greece thought it was an historical moment because it was the first time that communists and conservatives cooperated. Since the civil-war and the many fascist regimes they were considered deadly enemies), which character is getting more and more ridiculous. The media and political parties have lost their last bit of credibility. A state, which is led by and is being represented by a common swindler,

put's him on trial indifferent and humiliating way, arranges his protection and his housing in a luxurious suite with all comforts.

A police force, which doesn't try to hide that they took over one of their major tasks without feeling ashamed; their task being the protection of the large scale swindler Koskotas, who's apparently being treated by "terrorists". The americans must be clapping their hands for joy, because they were succesfull in spreading there fairy-tales. We all know however that we don't have any interest and that it would be a major political error to kill Koskotas at the moment- even, when it would pay itself off. Why can't any

and harder than those we give them. All by themselves they show that no representative of the state is able, even if they would want to, to engage in somekind of national resistance.- Resistance against the unlogical demands of the west and its international institutions.- or against the american policy on Cypres, and they are just too happy about it.

Recently we carried out the following attack: We launched grenades against the Pentelikos hotel in Kafalari at the 31th of March. The hotel is owned by the wealthy Koskotas. The media falsely presented the gangster and ship-owner Vardinogiannis as the proprietor. We will continue

anargiros. The recent raise in electricity-prices, the second within a year, causes feelings of despair for low income workers, who see themselves confronted with major problems to pay bills of a shameless level. This attack on the peoples income becomes even more unjustified, when we look at the fact that these higher rates add 54 billion to their income, whilst state institutions and private companies still owe more than 100 billion to the DEI.

At the 15th of May we attacked the cement-factory Xalips in Elefsina with 2 grenades, of which unfortunately just one exploded. The ownership and control of this company is

from the Greek people a part of the debts which they didn't pay. In this particular case the Ciment Francais payed 1200 to 1700 millions of what should have been 7000 millions.

At the 7th of May we attacked, launching two grenades, the german company Siemens in Marousi.

At the 28th of May we attacked the beer production place of the german company L-wenbrau in Atalanta, again with two grenades.

Teh vocal disapproval of the nazi-crimes by the german leaders of today is worthless, as long as it doesn't go along with a practical disapproval; the just compensation for the immense catastrophe our country suffered from, caused by the nazi-monsters. The fact that they haven't payed the war reparations means that they ignore these crimes. Which means that the Germany of today obtains econmic gains out of this refusal to pay; which means that they subjugate our country economically, buying factories, land, houses and hotels with money that belongs to us. By this way of acting, in ten years we will have become wage-earners from german masters, in our own country. Which means that "das vierten reich" (4th reich) of today, goes on with the strategic conquest of the peoples, It has the same goals but uses different means. We will therefore continue to attack the german companies. Doing this we attack the means which are used to conquer our country economically, untill the war-compensations and the obliged loans are paid for. We call upon the people of Greece to fight against the german presence in our country with all the means they have.

Athens, 4-6-'91

Revolutionary organisation
17th november.



of our granates fired at him be effective and bring about any possitive political result for us? Because only his existence and the indictment before the court, the show and the fun it will cost,- could bring about his knock out in front of their hypocritical justice, their parties, the press, the cops and the entire Greek state. With this farce of justice Catharsis they show to the Greek population that they don't care at all about the protection of their unsound legal system. It shows that they dig their own graves and that the blows given by themselves are much more decisive

our attacks on the company and buildings of the Vardinogiannis-group, which belong to the Koskotas-clan.

At the 25th of April we sank the Karapiperis'tug with a powerfull bomb. It was situated at the quai of Peramatos. Karapiperis organized groups of scabs to break the strike of tug-shippers. His tug was sailed by people,who weren't employed. We will continue to attack strike-breakers at every justified strike. At the second of May we attacked the offices of DEI (electricity-company of the Greek state) in Agios

nowadays in the hands of the French concern Ciment Francaise.As we already stated last year, this selling or even sell-out led to one of the first scandals of this government of decay. Today the company makes profit for the French, while they never even invested one drachme in the factory. Next to this they continue exhausting the market in order to get the control over other quarry-and cement factories. As we stated before we will go on attacking the ones who buy companies which are in debt, without paying those debts. In this way they stole

During the last couple of years there has been a crisis amongst us, the left-radicals in Copenhagen, this has meant that our organization has been weak and loose, and there have been very few new initiatives with a revolutionary perspective. From what we have heard from foreign comrades and articles we have read eg. golf war article in Clash, it appear that our situation is not unique, quite the opposite it seems typical of the other west-european countries.

We are a group of people here in Copenhagen, who have recently got together in an attempt to change this situation, and we want to help to develop the west-european resistance. We will start by telling a bit about the situation in Copenhagen during the last year, to try and give an impression of the problems that exit amongst us.

We will start with the official golf war, activities here started as so many other places, when the war was already on the massmurder stage. After a long period, during which we had'nt worked together politically, we got together to do something against the imperialist war. From the start the discussions were about what was happening in the middle east, and the necessity of standing up against yankee/euro imperialism s' war in the golf. And as an extension of this show solidarity with the people in the area. We didn't get very deep in the discussions about ourselves as resistance in europe and perspectives in the struggle, which we really noticed when USA declared the war was over and our mobilization fell apart.

Another initiative which brought a lot of us together, was when more than 500 palestinians who where threatened with extradition went on

hunger strike in the spring of 1991. From the start the political line was clear in the support actions, where the foreign directorate and the ministry of justice were occupied. The struggle for the palestinians wasn't just solidarity actions, it had a clear anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist content. At the start of the autumn more than 60 palestinians took refuge in a church to draw attention to their situation. Some of us formed a support group that co-operated with priests, palestinians, trade unions and individuals. The palestinians are still in the church after more than 100 days, but the action has developed to be more about humanitarian help with a weak critic of the danish states refugees policy. This we see as a defeat for the palestinian cause. We see 2 decisive problems in this asylum case/struggle. One is our politics against the state/eeec no longer being part of the action, because priests and trade unionists mean that our political line will damage the palestinian case, and this from a very early stage has caused us to hold back. Secondly the struggle for a free palestinian state/the intifadah has never been expressed by the palestinians in the church. For example when we and resident palestinians arranged a demo to support the intifadah and for resistance in western-europe, there was extremely poor support from other people, which meant amongst other things that the demo wasn't allowed in front of the church.

In november swedish comrades from Malmö and Lund called us to a militant blockade to stop the annual nazi demonstration in Lund 30.11.91. The thought of being able to stop nazis and racists from demonstrating, gathered 150 people from Copenhagen the militant blockade of more than 400 people succeeded in preventing the nazi demonstration. The police attempted to attack the blockade, but

were beaten back. After the blockade, we went on a victory demo back to our meeting place, the police again tried to get revenge and attacked us. We held them off and it was just at the railway station that they succeeded in arresting 18 people. The action has given power both to us and our swedish comrades and renewed energy to work together.

Nevertheless we see in our propaganda that our orientation goes to much in for the fight against fascism without a clear anti-capitalist expression. On the 21.12.91 we again met with our swedish comrades to discuss the experience and cement our connections. At the meeting there came a concrete suggestion for a gathering for people in Copenhagen, Lund and Malmö where there will be workshops with various themes.

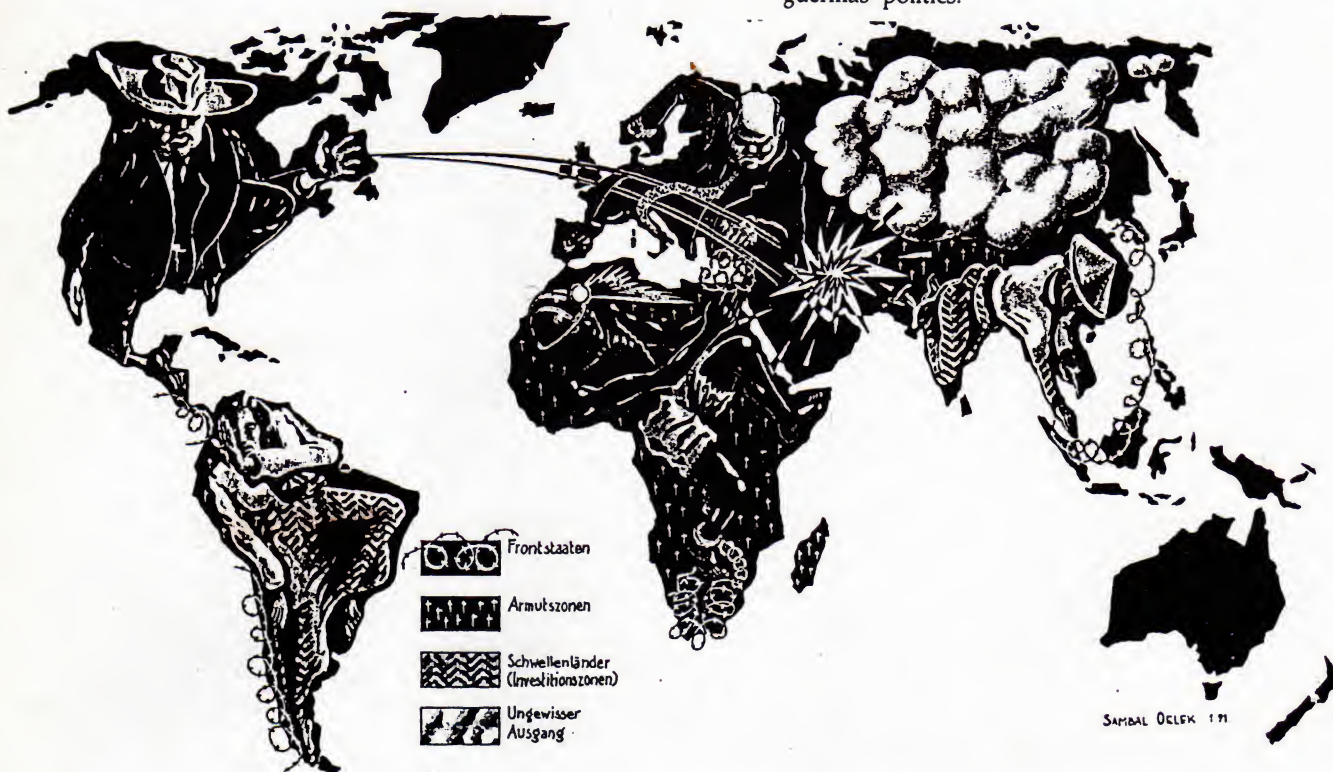
There has apart from these 3 confrontations, where many people have been mobilised, been various militant actions during the last year. We won't name them all, but we are aware of arson attacks against Citroen and Renault cardealers during the golf war, against the french participation in the war and in solidarity with action directes hunger strike. Stink/paintbomb attack against a formerly squatted house, where a building company has since occupied, this was on the international actionday in may against urban renewal and the EEC. On the anniversary of the military coup in turkey, there was a molotow attack on the turkish embassy (no serious damage, according to newsbureau). We have decided to bring the communiques from the last 2 actions (see last in article) as they say something about the building up of a resistance in west-europe.

A new confrontation will be when schwartzkopf comes to Copenhagen 29.1.92, where there already is being arranged a demo. He is coming to

Copenhagen to meet the foreign minister and multi-boss Maersk McKinney Møller, where they will hold a seminar about crises control for danish buisness leaders. The terroristic gathering will of course be actioned against.

this, must of necessity be an international front in west-europe. For us the idea with the front is to create a stronger political unity/struggle between guerillas, prisoners, anti-imperialists and militant forces. This means concrete for us:

- To take a position in regard of the guerillas politics.



We mean it is important for us to go against the reactionary development in Europe, the union where multinationals have gone together in European Round Table to secure there profits and to be able to manifest themselves politically. This development will be felt in all realing of society. Most prominent is the contra revolution against all forms of politics/resistance that can't be integrated in the capitalist system.

Especially revolutionary/armed groups and prisoners from these groups. State racism is also becoming more visible, through a tightening of refugee policies, and hermetically closed fort Europe (schengen agreement about the tightening of outer borders and registration of "unwanted" persons from "3rd world"). Peoples social network deteriorates and political participation is reduced more and more. The european patriachal/racist/capitalist elite are consolidating their power. It is this power we are confronted with. And analysis of the union is a comprehensive subject and is still lacking, but most important is that we are getting an understanding of how we, together, can fight the enemy. It is not a struggle based on a perspective of national self determination, but the perspective of a socialist europe. The way to

- To discuss with the revolutionary prisoners and support their demand for association.

- To put Clash as a priority as it is a vital tool in developing the struggle in West-europe. We will read/discuss the articles together and translate/publish those that have a meaning for us in Denmark. Another priority will be writing to Clash as our contribution to strengthen resistance.

There are here in Copenhagen, only a few people who work continously in groups we want to reach a situation where we can between groups determine the political development and discuss/carry out each other initiatives, to be an infedious power amongst left radicals. To show people that if we are serious about creating real changes and a revolutionary struggle, then it is necessary to be organised. We want to cooperate with organized groups in other countries, who have the same orientation as expressed in the text. We see a close cooperation, where we build up a communication net that gives the possibility to have a continuous discussion and exchange experience. We can be contacted at the following adress: Autonomt info-elmegade 27-2200 copenhagen N-Denmark. We hope to get a response. Here are the communiques named in the text:

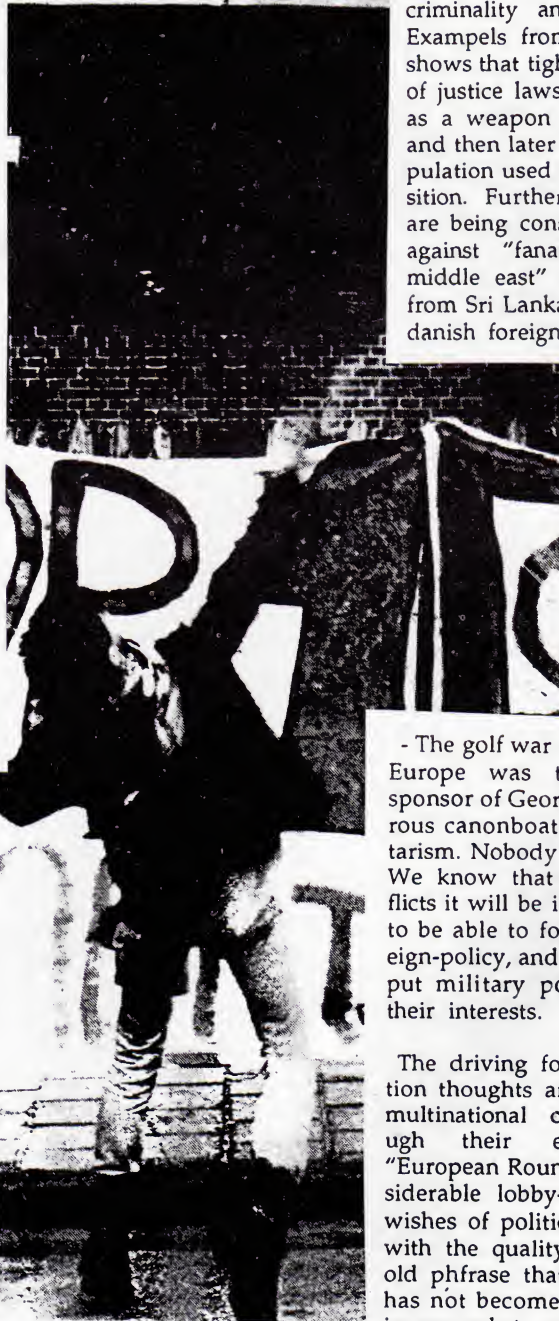
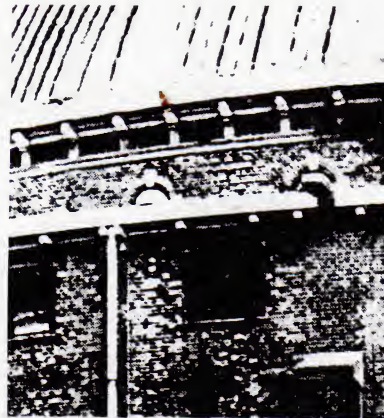
War against European Roundtable

It's now 19 years since Denmark entered the European Economic Community - EEC. At that time, as well as now, the real intentions were hidden away from the population by lying politicians, who in reality served their real masters, the european capitalists. At that time it was told that it was only a trade cooperation - at the election in 1986, about the inner market, it was said that the unification of Europe was far away

During the last years we have seen which direction the development of the society has taken. A development determined by the needs of capitalists, at the expense of the weakest groups in society. A society where at least 1/3 of the population have to accept being made superfluous by capitalism. They are expected to accept the misery, injustice as something natural. The system needs the ones who fits into their high-tech world, - it's these maggots in bacon we call yuppies, whose attitude to life are reduced to "born to shop". A development where cities have/are being made misanthropic with yuppie modernization, hotel/congress centers, great belt/sound bridges. This development isn't a special danish phenomenon, but a clear expression for what and whom their unification thoughts will benefit.... the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. It's not only in Europe that this development is in the offensive. Since the beginning of the eighties the flood of money from "the third world" countries - instalment of loans - has been a constantly increasing source of income for the banks of USA, Japan and Western Europe. An exploitation which is deepening the antagonism in the third world. Poverty, starvation and war are what the industrialised blessings has meant/means to the people in "the third world". Those who are escaping this misery, and travel as far as

Western Europe are met with the hermetic closed borders of Fort Europe. Just think about the actual situation of the palestinians seeking asylum. This must be understood as state racism and has to be fought as such. Also in other fields we experience the consequences of Neuropa.

- We experience how the environment - debate has been made up to the responsibility of the individual, through green consumer campaign in the medias. The consciousness about the environmental filthiness of the individual is important, but you must never lose sight of the fact that, capitalists eternal hunt for easy profit is the real cause.



Capital makes the population believe that prestige-projects as the sound-bridge and the soundcity (a new city in connection with the bridge between Denmark and Sweden across Øresund) are made for the benefit of the population. While in fact they are made to make their money instruments sing. Another example of their perverted growth-philosophy, in which people and environment always will be losers.

- The Schengen countries have shown the contours of Neuropa with a greater control and registration of the population. Increased powers to an increasingly rightwing police. Harmonizing of legislation according to the organized criminality and the refugee problem. Examples from Holland and Germany shows that tightening of administration of justice laws often is carried through as a weapon against drug-criminality, and then later when accepted in the population used against the political opposition. Furthermore the outer borders are being consolidated as a protection against "fanatic muslims from the middle east" and "terroristic tamils" from Sri Lanka (expressions used by the danish foreign minister).

- The golf war showed us how Western Europe was turned into a willing sponsor of George Bush and the murderous canonboat diplomacy of US-militarism. Nobody fucks with Georgie boy! We know that in similar future conflicts it will be important to EEC-capital, to be able to formulate a common foreign-policy, and if necessary to be able to put military power behind, to defend their interests.

The driving force behind the unification thoughts are mainly the european multinational companies, whom through their exclusive organisation "European Roundtable" carry out a considerable lobby-activity to make their wishes of political decisions come true with the qualitymark of the EEC. The old phrase that money means power has not become less true, entering the inner-market anno 1993. We want to

fight their misanthropical plans. Our fight for selfdetermination and collectivity - a decent life - against their destructive hunt for profit. We want a united front against the EEC-union of the capitalists. A front which will be determined by our multiplicity and militancy. Our strength are to spread out and build out the knowledge about the EEC-union and it's consequences, and dare to discuss our own dreams and visions of a life without exploitation and human degradation.

We have to carry our actions out on all levels: Information campaigns, letters to editors, public discussions, squattings, graffiti, creative vandalism, direct actions, international solidarity. International solidarity means for us to behave jointly to the liberation movements in "the third world" and the guerilla in Western Europe. We want to take the discussions of the revolutionary prisoners into our own and be critical and common to them. To act upon the the revolutionary prisoners discussions is important and right, because it means to act upon our collective history as resistance in Western Europe. From now on and up to the referendum about the EEC-union in about a year the propaganda in favour of the capitalist union will be massive. We have to react on this, sabotage against their misguiding of the population, expose their lies. We declare the multinationals for outlaws - war against ERT. Therefore we have made attacks on some of their branches with butter acid (in the night 1.10.91).

NESTLE, masnedøgade.
PHILLIPS, prags boulevard
SHELL, vasbygade.
**FOR A COMMON FRONT AGAINST
THE EEC-UNION OF THE
CAPITALISTS!**

WAR AGAINST THE
IMPERIALIST WAR!

We have today 18.12.91 during the hours of opening forced our way into the french embassy's trade department, Holbergsgade 14 and destroyed their company archives with paint.

The function of this place is to maintain and develop the french capital interests in Denmark. The big european multis, organised in the european round table, have laid the foundation to the inner market, and plan their continued exploitation and plundering of the population. The present development towards a union is necessary to secure the capitals plans for a Neuropa. At the EEC-summit in Maastricht 9-10 december, the political, economic, military and security decisions were taken to realise the formation of a european state.

We want through our action to break the passivity there is in general amongst left radicals and concretely to break the silence about the hunger-striking prisoners from Action Directe. Joelle Aubron, Nathalie Menignon, Georges Capariani og Jean- Marc Rouillan, four prisoners from the communist guerilla organisation Action Directe have been on hunger-strike since 1.2.91. A chain where each prisoner is on hungerstrike for a week, to extend the struggle for a longer period of time. Striking against solitary confinement, the constantly attacks against their dignity and sex, and for their association. The prisoners say in their declaration, that the revolts in the prison and urban ghettos last year, has determined their struggle to develop a political discussion with all those inside and outside who have risen against the states repression. Other prisoners have backed up this initiative, many with their own demands - eg. ending of censorship - on the basis of a common declaration from the four Action Directe prisoners and the anti-racist prisoners from the national coordination.

Our solidarity and attention is therefore directed to the total spectrum of the resistance forces, who in the future can be together in defeating the monopol bourgeoisie's new formation of power (eec-union), based on the long term perspective and concrete preparations for a common european resistance. We therefore, with this action, support the concrete demands which the four prisoners are fighting for:

- for association
- against isolation torture
- for recognition as political prisoners (prisoner of war status)

We want to carry on a discussion with them, about how we can change the social relationships and conquer our common enemy. That we are aware of each others concrete struggles, and that amongst other things means the common struggle with the prisoners to achieve better conditions for them to discuss and participate in the political processes, that must also mean improvements for all the revolutionary forces of resistance.

The repression against the spanish prisoners from GRAPO and PCE (r) was the start of a new coordinated contra revolutionary praxis (TREVI decision from 1987). A liquidations policy from the imperialist states side. The spanish prisoners achieved (1981 women and men collectives, these were attacked in the start of 1987 and the prisoners were spread over one thousand square kilometers, this worsened and prevented the relatives contact to the prisoners. The spanish prisoners from GRAPO and PCE (r) late in 1989 fought a hunger strike which lasted more than a year and led to a comrades death. Jose Manuel Sevilliano was murdered by PSOE/Gonzales government. Right now the same praxis is being carried out against the basque prisoners from ETA and the militant resistance, 60 women and 418 men, started on 30 september a hunger strike chain, like the french prisoners from Action Directe.

Various basque organisations have therefore decided to support the prisoners struggle, first with a large demonstration 6.12.91 and then from the 7.-14., where all the prisoners hunger-striking simultaneously with various activities.

It is vital for us to show that everywhere there is rising resistance against the imperialist states' contra-revolutionary policies, to show that new, and more enemies are always arising.

Another determining factor is the prisoners maintaining their identity in spite of inhuman psychological and physical attacks. Many westgerman comrades from the guerilla have sat in various forms of solitary confinement for fifteen years.

The prisoners are thus confronted with a vindictiveness that attempts with all its means to destroy the prisoners. Bernd Rossner, a comrade from the guerilla (RAF) is one of those who has been confronted with vindictiveness. The minimal improvements some of the westgerman prisoners achieved after their last hungerstrike (1989), when many thousand people

backed up their struggle, are now in the middle of 1991 being attacked by a common campaign started by the media, politicians and the police. These attacks aim to isolate the prisoners completely from their friends and comrades, through: contact bans, censorship etc. and criminalisation of the lawyers.

Another aspect in the development of capitals european union is the growing statefascism/racism and the increasing racist terror and street violence. It is great (and necessary) when anti-racists can organize themselves in the street and prevent racists and nazis from demonstrating, as happened in Lund and Stockholm 30.11.91, or in Göttingen, where leading nazis were attacked in their homes, or in Hoyerswerda, where people agitated politically and showed solidarity with refugees.

But despite this we see a lack of organization amongst left-radicals in the struggle against the european union and the consequent reactionary development. We must choose whether we will tacitly accept this destructive development or whether we will organize ourselves, so we can take the initiative and create a continuity in our political task of building up a West-european resistance.

We see the following as orientation points in this european resistance struggle:

- G7-summit in Munich, july 1992, when the 7 leading capitalist powers will meet. The comrades in Munich are planning an anti-congress and an international demonstration.
- 500th anniversary of Europes colonisation of America.
- the struggle for association of political prisoners.
- solidarity with Kurdistan and Palestine.
- anti-fascist struggle.
- and not least the nazi-shit General Schwarzkopf meeting with Uffe Ellemann (danish foreign minister) and Mærsk McKinney-Møller (danish multi-boss) the 29th of january.

Enjoy your work and red front !

COMMON FRONT AGAINST
CAPITALS EUROPEAN UNION

ASSOCIATION OF THE POLITICAL
PRISONERS IN WESTERN EUROPE

RELEASE OF ALL SICK PRISONERS

FOR REVOLUTION

LA

Here are some reports about the recent happenings in Los Angeles. We got them very late, and there was no time to translate them into German. Still, we think it is important to have some more information than this distorted reports from the ruling media. We will try as hard as we can to have more background information and analyses, preferably by the people involved themselves, in our next issue.

Via The NY Transfer News Service ~ All the News that Doesn't Fit

THE BATTLE OF LOS ANGELES

Special to Workers World
Los Angeles

Here, where the racist cops beat Rodney King, rage exploded into rebellion. Spontaneously, people took to the streets at news of the verdict on April 29. The government's response to the rebellion consisted of more racism and police brutality. But although a huge deployment of military force repressed the rebellion after five days, the rage against the racist oppression, poverty, unemployment and injustice that are integral to U.S. capitalism remains. Clearly, it will erupt again.

Fury in the streets

At an emergency April 29 demonstration at police headquarters at Parker Center, Black and Latino youths chanting No justice, no peace took the lead.

They stoned the building and smashed police cars. The sound of helicopters, sirens and alarms filled the air.

The angry demonstration then moved through the downtown area. City Hall, the state court building and the civic center were targets. Angry at the media's role in whipping up racism and covering up police brutality, demonstrators also attacked the Los Angeles Times building.

That same evening, another spontaneous demonstration targeted the precinct where the four cops who brutalized Rodney King are based. Their drunken celebration of the racist acquittal ended hastily as police rushed to erect barricades against the hundreds of angry people attacking the building.

The anger went far beyond the organized political movement. And it had roots far deeper than this latest atrocity.

In South Central Los Angeles the heart of the African American community fury swept through the streets and erupted into a virtual insurrection. Tens of thousands of people took part.

The rebellion quickly spread to other areas of this sprawling city of 3.5 million, especially the Latino community. Where most people own nothing denied jobs, education and decent health care the demand for justice meant expropriating a fraction of the wealth stolen over generations in this racist society. The rebellion was broad and deep, resulting from poverty, anger and alienation in broad sections of the population. The most oppressed led the way. But white youths also joined the uprising.

This ... has to do with economics,

Hector Perez Pacheco of East Los Angeles told the Associated Press. You want to prevent riots, prevent poverty first.

More than 5,500 buildings burned. Oppressed people shot at police stations. Seventeen government buildings were destroyed.

The heavy hand of the state

The First AME Church, located in the heart of the Black community, called a demonstration for May 2 at the Parker Center police headquarters, to protest the escalating police brutality. The city banned the rally and cordoned off the entire area.

But more than 300 students from the Chicano student group MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanos de Aztlan) and from Black Student Unions from various campuses started to demonstrate anyway, several blocks away. They were immediately surrounded by National Guard troops, not allowed to leave, and arrested.

Everyone at the protest was taken to jail even an 8-year-old child. Arrested for demonstrating, they were listed as looters in the official records, and charged with felony burglary.

The city also ordered the annual Cinco de Mayo commemoration in the Chicano/Mexicano community canceled. The date marks Mexico's victory over a French invasion in 1862. This year, a march to protest 500 years of looting and murder of our people was planned.

In collusion with the federal government, the state had quickly instituted emergency powers to mobilize the entire city police force, state police, then the National Guard. Finally, the president federalized the National Guard put it under Pentagon control and sent in the Army and Marines to crush the escalating rebellion.

As of May 5, military roadblocks and checkpoints barricade every intersection in South Central Los Angeles. Tanks, armored personnel carriers and troops pointing automatic weapons patrol the streets.

There are more than 20,000 armed forces involved in the vast repression. This includes 8,000 police and 9,800 National Guard troops.

Gen. Covault, a specialist who helped devise rapid deployment strategies, is in command of the 2,500 Army and 1,500 Marine troops here, most of them Gulf war veterans. Covault reports directly to Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney.

The U.S. government has thus declared war on the oppressed communities of Los Angeles. The Pentagon, at President Bush's command, is carrying out a military occupation as if in enemy territory.

That point is not lost on the people here. Activist Joan Sekler told Workers World people are even angrier now than when the rebellion began.

Despite the overwhelming display of repressive force and continuous police brutality, resistance has continued. According to the Associated Press, police stations continue to be targets of sporadic gunfire, as are Marines standing guard at roadblocks.

Although there was a massive police presence during the height of the rebellion, almost no ambulances or firefighting equipment were sent into the oppressed communities. Fifty-five people were killed

and 2,400 injured.

Few questions are asked publicly about the circumstances or cause of the 55 deaths reported. How many were at the hands of the police? How many died because no ambulance would come?

Community activists say it is likely that many or most of those dead were killed by police, who embarked on an orgy of killing and brutality war against African Americans and Latinos once enough reinforcements had arrived to back them.

The wheels of 'justice'

By May 5 more than 12,000 people, primarily African American and Latino youths, had been rounded up in massive sweeps of the city streets.

Without search warrants or any basis in law random searches of homes are now being conducted. Holding people at gun point inside their own homes, cops decide whether a VCR, a box of diapers or food in the refrigerator might be stolen goods.

The police powers, originally overwhelmed by the spontaneous, widespread character of the rebellion, now seek to restore order through random terror. A Latino motorist was killed when he hit a barricade after curfew May 3 and was shot 14 times by National Guard troops on patrol.

The racist court system that was unable to provide justice for Rodney King was able to spring into action in repressing the oppressed people of Los Angeles. Special court sessions have been going on all day every day since May 3.

No evidence is presented in these arraignments, which last about 30 seconds per defendant. The charges, uniform for everyone arrested, are already inserted on pre-printed forms; just the name must be inserted.

Felony burglary charges and average bails of at least \$5,000 are slapped on lines of prisoners caught up in the arbitrary police sweeps. The bail, impossibly high for most poor people, means they will spend months in jail awaiting trial. Families, homes and jobs are all lost in this process.

The media totally ignored a May 4 demonstration against the curfew by a number of progressive organizations and student groups from UCLA. They also ignored a news conference on May 2. Nor were student walkouts from high schools through southern California considered newsworthy.

In fact, any voices in solidarity with the rebellion anyone who refuses to go along with the attempt to make the oppressed rather than the cops the criminals has been silenced. That is the case nationally, but even more so here in Los Angeles because it is vital for the ruling class to block unity among the workers and poor of all nationalities in order to stop the rebellion from spreading any further.

Written by Sara Flounders. Based on reports from several correspondents in Los Angeles.

NO JUSTICE - NO PEACE

By Harry Cleaver (Special to the European Counter Network)

AUSTIN, May 1, 1992

We haven't had a May 1st like this in years. The massive upheavals shaking the United States, from Los Angeles to San Francisco, from Atlanta to New York, are more than protests against the not guilty verdict in the trial of the policemen who brutally beat Rodney King. The verdict touched off a rebellion whose energies spring from many sources. As rebellion spread, first flaming across Los Angeles and then exploding across the United States, the angry cry that has accompanied it NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE! refers not only to the verdict but to life in America, especially life in the central cities during these last years of the Reagan-Bush administrations. NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE! is an outcry of fed-up rebellion against systematically unjust state policies of slashing wages, welfare programs and decent paying jobs. It is also an outcry against the flagrant racism of this last decade of economic repression and especially that of the Bush presidency born wrapped in the racist iconography of Willie Horton. The American years of lead have weighted most heavily on the people now in revolt. Their fires, it seems, are melting the lead, those years are over.

As in the Watts Rebellion of 1965, the anger boiling out into the streets has been expressed primarily in massive direct appropriation and the burning of almost two thousand buildings in Los Angeles. While mass media reports have tended to emphasize scattered incidents of brutality -such as a truck driver being dragged from his vehicle and beaten- the vast majority of actions have been directed against business property. Based on past experience, it is highly likely that the actual number of crimes against individuals has actually decreased during the rebellion.

As in the rebellions of the 1960s, reports and interviews have portrayed, mixed in with the anger, a carnevalesque atmosphere of community appropriation as thousands of citizens have collectively smashed down the glass and steel separating them from the things they need. This appropriation was systematic and spread well beyond South-Central L.A., where the rebellion began, into such high-priced shopping malls and boutiques as those of wealthy Beverly Hills.

All these Riots, denounced by President Bush as an impermissible breakdown in law and order, have actually been creating new laws of distribution and a new kind of money-less order in which vast quantities of wealth are being, very quickly, transferred from the businesses which have, to those who do not. Beyond such direct appropriation, however, we must also see the political statement of the burnings: the demand for an end to the institutions of exploitation themselves. Sociologists may

well label these rebellions, as they did those of the 1960s, commodity riots, but we must also recognize that the rupture of the merchantile circuits of capitalist society is a political blow to its lifeblood.

Remarkable in the dynamics of the rebellions has been the failure of the forces of mediation. When the verdict came in on the night of Wednesday the 29th, every respectable community leader in Los Angeles, from black Mayor Bradley on down, strove to avert rebellion by channeling anger into manageable channels. Meetings in churches were organized, passionate gospel music was mixed with equally impassioned speeches of outrage - all designed to permit a powerless, cathartic venting of emotion. At the biggest meeting, covered by Network Television, the desperate Mayor went so far as to make an explicit plea for no action. Just as good business trade unions see their primary job as imposing the contract and maintaining labor peace, so did the good community leaders see theirs as the maintenance of order. They failed.

Over and over again, such local leaders, city officials (including the notorious Chief of Police Gates) and the White House have tried to draw a line between a lawless few young thugs (the Willie Horton icon again) and the law-abiding majority of the community. But reports have made it clear that all kinds of people have been participating in the rebellion. Nor has this been a black rebellion, even though it began in a predominantly black neighborhood. Even the elite New York Times (May 1, 1992) has reported both of these phenomena, signalling to the ruling class the seriousness of the explosion:

Some areas took on the atmosphere of a street party as black, white, Hispanic and Asian residents mingled to share in a carnival of looting. As the greatly outnumbered police looked on, people of all ages [and genders], some carrying small children, wandered in and out of stores and supermarkets with shopping bags and armloads of shoes, liquor, radios, groceries, wigs, auto parts, gumball machines and guns. Some stood patiently in line to take their turn.

Like the Brixton Riots in the early 1980s, this has been a multiracial community uprising. What some have called the impossible class and others the tribe of moles has coalesced and surfaced once again -against a police and against an economic system which have done their best to make their lives miserable.

Across the country, these scenes have been repeated on a smaller scale and have been supported by dozens of other kinds of demonstrations protesting the injustice of the Rodney King verdict and articulating at least some of the outcries of the rebels. Here in Austin, capitol of the state of Texas and home to the University of Texas, high-tech electronic firms and a sizeable population of blacks and Mexican Americans, news of the uprising in Los Angeles also brought people spontaneously out of their homes and jobs

and into the streets. Within hours, first at the downtown, central police station and then at the state capitol building, a cross-section of the city of all colors and ethnic backgrounds was speaking out angrily about the developing events. In both gatherings, chants of NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE! echoed those of Los Angeles.

Everywhere people are meeting, discussing, arguing, debating and taking action as the struggle circulates across the nation. In school classrooms and in open areas to which they have marched, in elementary schools and universities, students are participating in this discussion and organizing for action. A week ago the nation watched as two natural earthquakes shook Northern California and wondered if the big one would be next [The Big One is the long-predicted large-scale earthquake which will cause massive destruction along the San Andreas fault in California]. Today a social earthquake in Southern California has sent shockwaves rippling across the continent, making us all wonder if the revolutionary the big one is far off.



THE LANGUAGE OF CLASS:

Riot = business, governmental and media derogatory term for popular rebellion

Looting = business, governmental and media derogatory term for direct appropriation or proletarian shopping

Vandalism = business, governmental and media derogatory term for wiping out the institutions of exploitation

Law = euphemism for the rules of capitalist exploitation

From Queer Nation Mailing List

As you probably know, Friday night police chief Hongisto - in collaboration with the Jordan state of emergency declaration - ordered a sweep of Mission Street from 24th and Mission and north for about 10 blocks, arresting anyone who did not disperse fast enough; a similar sweep occurred in the Castro.

A demonstration was scheduled to occur at the intersection at 7 pm, but never occurred because police started the sweep at around 6:40 pm, picking up any would-be protesters and anyone in the area. Friends of mine arrested estimated that between that sweep and the one in the Castro 400- 800 people were arrested. The charges: failure to disperse and unlawful assembly. The media has reported that some people were angry about being locked up but has not covered the extent of police abuse and brutality that occurred Friday night. Please read on. My housemate who was arrested, not even realizing there was a failure to disperse order, reports the following from personal experience, talking with friends, and from the speakout held at Dolores Park Sunday afternoon:

A man in the Castro was smashed in the back of the head by police with a baton. He reports that he had massive quantities of blood pouring from his head and needed 4" worth of stitches. When he stood up, three police surrounded him, tried to brainwash him, and told him that he had fallen to the pavement and that as he stood a protester hit him. The man has gathered 12-13 witnesses that saw the police hit him.

A woman would-be protester bent down to pick her skateboard. A cop rushed her and hit her in the head with a baton. She needed stitches.

A woman was hit in the stomach with a baton and then hit in the back with a baton. As she fell hard on her knee (needed stitches)

another cop raced towards her and hit her in the head with a baton.

Two Korean youth were beaten and taken to the adult jail, even though they are minors. They are afraid to say anything for fear of further repercussions from the police.

My housemate said he heard at the speak-out at least six reports of beatings so bad that people needed to go to the hospital.

The group of prisoners my housemate was in was kept outside Friday night for 4-5 hours in very cold weather. Many of the people there were HIV+ and without their medication. A man known as Mike (HIV+) at the speak-out reported that he went from the outside in and asked the police if he could stay inside because he had just been released from the hospital with lung infections. They said NO. He asked if he could have a blanket. They said NO. A woman threw him her jacket, and as he turned to walk outside a cop kicked him hard in the butt and said Here's your medicine!

He was kept outside in the cold for a total of five hours.

A gay man went to go get a jacket a friend had left in a common room. The cop guarding the room said Tough shit, faggot it's mine now.

A (previously) non-activist lesbian was on her way to buy tampons. She was swept up in the sweep, and police would not allow her access to tampons during the whole weekend. Because she did not show up for work Friday night, she lost her job at the International House of Pancakes.

Everyone taken in was required to identify their sexual orientation and whether they were HIV+. People refusing to respond were assumed queer, etc.

Police referred to the gay group as Cellblock Homo



identifying the block with pieces of paper that said Homo

. An officer told one gay cellblock that you homos will be the last to be processed

Police told gay prisoners that any physical contact between them would be processed as a felony, after someone hugged a friend coming in.

A number of reporters including SF Weekly, Bay Times, and Business Week (see today's Chronicle) were swept up and held, even though they identified themselves as reporters.

Many of the people swept up were primarily Spanish-speaking Latinos, not realizing what was going on. On Saturday, Hongisto was questioned by an angry Supervisor Gonzales who had heard stories of Latina mothers being taking in. Hongisto responded they gave the order three times in English and once in Spanish (even though the predominant language in that area is Spanish). Many people never heard any of the orders.

I was at the public hearing Saturday between the Mayor and the Supervisors. Jordan requested to keep the State of Emergency on. An outraged public protested and yelled throughout the hearings, placing enormous pressure on the Board of Supervisors to withdraw its previous approval of the State of Emergency. Approval was withdrawn on a 7 to 1 vote, the dissenter: Jordan's goddaughter, Anne Marie Conroy. The most vocal disapproval was from Migden, Achtenberg, Gonzales, and Alioto. Public outrage also prompted to the police and courts to cite out the prisoners faster than they had planned - the original date was that people would be released Monday. Many were finally released around 2 am Sunday morning. Some still have not been accounted for.

Meanwhile the media has been reporting that isn't this a tragedy - the police need to keep abreast of all these demonstrators, it's costing the city so much money - that they're going to have to make cuts such as in health. What incredible bullshit - and let's divide and conquer. News have also been reporting that some people are upset about the state of emergency, even though it infringes upon their individual rights. Like the right to dissent is not a very basic right - and as if protection from police brutality is a minor complaint! We need to be out on the streets - in a huge way; Jordan must be stopped from turning SF into a police state.

meredith



CULTURE

In the context of our continuing discussion about the political content and "line" of the newspaper we'd like to introduce another, as we think, important theme to the international discussion: "culture".

Of course this theme has been represented in further numbers by various articles, but it wasn't qualified by us as an important part of the international interchange of people from different nations and cultures.

But, in the end, what is culture, and how does it become noticeable? Who are its upholders? The ruling culture is not what we have in mind by asking these questions. Ruling culture is what we are faced with day by day f. ex. at the medias in a brutal and totalitarian way, what suffocates our own creativity, that usurps our ideas and also claims our political identity.

Of course we believe to have, or demand to have, a critical relationship to that or are just looking for something different because we just cannot stand no more what is presented to us as necessary culture for our national identity. So starting at our own needs and ideas we have created starting-points for an own culture or perhaps already counter-culture.

But what does that even mean? During the last years we had to have the experiences that even this counter-culture couldn't withstand to the permanent change of the ruling spirit of time or is brought to the line with it. It gets a market value itself. Music, clothes, art, literature a.s.o., everything we have created for ourselves we could often see after a while in famous fashion-papers, big music-labels a.s.o., absolutely disfigured of its original form and for invaluable prices.

O.k. this is the one side of it. The side of the rulers to assimilate all human productivity and use it for their interests or better to sell it expensive.

But what the hell. In the last years of resistance and struggle for authenticity and self-determination also originated cultural roots that could develop and embed, that could withstand the numerous set-backs.

About this we want to report in our next issue, show some projects and dig a bit into left-wings history.

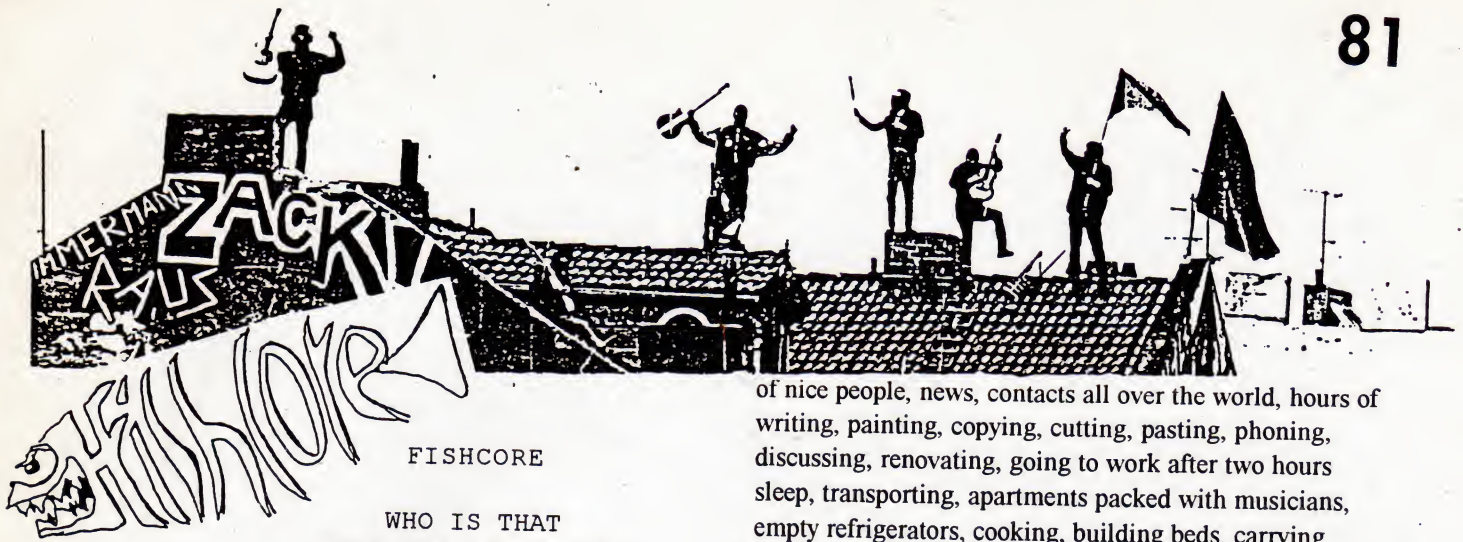
We are looking for attempts of self-determined left-wing culture in Europe and want to follow the cultural steps of other people, who are often very strange to us. We think that culture says a lot about the people, their social situation, the political ideas and aims, their dreams and fears. But it also gives something of the inward power that is responsible for that people don't only accept the existing reality as fate but let their ideas and ideals become alive. That's why culture is always an expression and evidence for a revolutionary process of organization within a society too.

So we think it's necessary to have an interchange also on this area and create an understanding and communication. Let's tell us our stories, sing about our longings, beat our rhythms, paint our colours and give us our physical and spiritual expressiveness. But of course our idea is not to have a cultural hotchpotch (headword: Multi-Cultural Society= political slogan f. ex. of FRG's Greens) in the imperialists meaning but an imparting of the attempts of self-determined culture as they could only originate from the each very different social and political conditions. This kind of culture is impossible to simply apply or even mix up. We want to communicate with, learn from each other and understand that there is something else in the world besides the few kilometers around our heads and our biosphere.

Well, enough the long preface and we start with the presentation of a group from Hamburg that organizes alternative concerts. We would be happy if also other groups will be interested to present themselves and their work within Clash. This is again a question for YOU!

Lets have no illusions: The mealy speeches about "our home areas" etc, got a long over due correction at the end of the 80s. Free spaces or "liberated areas" existed, if anywhere, then only in the foaming tirades of the CDU (christian democrats party). It is better like that, the misty romantic components, Asterix & Obelix (=us) versus the rest of the world (=the system) just clogged up our vision and our practice. "Our block" means not only Hafen, Flora and the FC (Football Club St. Pauli) also an awful lot of dirt and shit. Not to mention the illusion that someone could, so to speak, free themselves on their own. It is as easy as it is wrong to make ourselves comfortable in so-called niches in the belief that no happiness is possible. The idea of revolution has become a bitter aftertaste in the aftermath of the fall of the wall and the rise of Greater Germany which means that it is still right to attack the completely unchained bloodhound FRG by any means wherever possible. What is left is the knowledge that it is possible to carry out projects and carry through demands with success (Rote Flora, stopped multipurpose hall) and failure (Phantom of the Opera in the Holstenstr., etc.). The waterfront with its history, including the diverse meeting places, which seem able to withstand anything is a good example of this. A not unimportant part of the Hafen were and are the concerts, at first in the PK and today in the Störtebecker. The silence about the atmosphere at the concerts etc, I will not mention at this point, most buyers of the record will know about that. The rest of the city only found out at a later point about the concerts at reasonable prices. Astounded magazines noted that popular bands such as Fugazi did not play for the first time in Hamburg in 1990. Had the establishment finally discovered a selfruling little island, was the Hardcore danger? Not at all, it did not really exist. T h e Fanzine letter writers full of HC ideologies have been just as guilty of exaggerating as the talk of blocks that apparently belong to us. The decision to stage concerts with bands, who are liked under reasonable conditions for group and audience is clever and correct to pound your own drum too hard, in the belief, that you can turn over the Music Business (let alone capitalism!) by doing this is neither clever nor correct. The ongoing unspectacular manner in which the gigs are organized in the Störtebecker; if there is such a thing as the HC spirit, then that is a part of it. My respects to all the Fishcore Crew (and all the others).

Ale/Buback Tonträger



FISHCORE

WHO IS THAT
WHAT ARE THEY DOING
WHAT DO THEY WANT FROM US

The A-Shop was in the Bernstorffstr until September 1987. Here we had space for politics, making noise and celebrating without the pressures of society but still not free of all pressures and so we were evicted within a relatively short time. While we were looking for a new room, we still wanted to keep things going. To get money and to keep our group going, we started doing regular gigs in the Störtebecker Center. Naturally, there have always been concerts in the Hafenstr. Whether in Ahoi, in the peoples' kitchen or outside on the steps there have always been a lot of historical bands on the waterfront. When we started out, good and cheap concerts were at a premium in Hamburg. We celebrated many successes and our concerts were soon very popular in the worldwide underground. Since the search for a room of our own became more and more hopeless and frustrating, the part of the group that had fallen in love with the Stoertebecker Center in the meantime decided to stay there.

Up to the summer of '89 it all still went by the name of A-Shop. The constitution of the group had however changed and the name of FISHCORE came into being. We wanted to use this name to distinguish ourselves from other gigs in the Hafen, that sometimes started up quite spontaneously and with very little preparation in the middle of the night. It also made us easier to contact. So, if FISHCORE was on the poster, then it meant the concert would take place, start more or less on time, that the amps worked, that there was a wide selection of drinks (also a lot of cheap, non alcoholic stuff), that the bands got a good hot meal on the night and a nice breakfast in the morning, that they had a proper place to sleep and got their money and that they were looked after correctly with sound advice. This does also happen at other concerts in the Hafen, but not at all of them. Most of the concerts take place where we live, where you can cook, eat and sleep. Of course, it was also a hassle to have between 3 12 "guests" around regularly in the cramped conditions of our apartments. However, without this contact to people from all over the place, our work would not be as much fun. Our concerts are more than a hobby for us, they mean: a lot of fun, lots

of nice people, news, contacts all over the world, hours of writing, painting, copying, cutting, pasting, phoning, discussing, renovating, going to work after two hours sleep, transporting, apartments packed with musicians, empty refrigerators, cooking, building beds, carrying mattresses, carrying drinks, cleaning up, talking people into doing all kinds of things, showing people the Adventure of the Hamburg Metropolis, making debts, initiating musicians into the FC St. Pauli cult and of course partying, and that means an important part of not just our lives.

Over 200 different bands have played with us: EROSION, FUGAZI, FLOWERBUDS, THE PLOT, JINGO DE LUNCH, TARGET OF DEMAND, LULL, POLITICAL ASYLUM, EST, COSMIC WURST, NAUSEA, NAFTIA, NO MEANS NO, AURORA, CULTURE SHOCK, STENGTE DORER, EA80, KINA, DIE AGGRESSIVEN STUHLBEINE from: Pinneberg, Washington, Luebeck, Amsterdam, Berlin, Linz, Odense, Edinburgh, Moscow, Paris, New York, Athens, Toronto, Budapest, London, Oslo, Mnnchen Gladbach, Mailand, Kappeln and many others.

Entrance never costs more than DM 6, prices for drinks are low, juice is subsidized. The takings (generally) cover the costs, paying for the necessar equipment, maintenance work and brickettes for the whole house. Anything left or takings from our numerous solidarity gigs for example to the Anti Poll Tax Campaign, other ouse projects, various trial groups, Info Office for the Prisoners, Flora, Hafenstr. film group, the Blitz in Oslo and for Antifa groups. The starting point for our work was basically the common political struggle with the Hafenstr. In recent years personal links have also played an increasing role. After initial difficulties, we have become an integral part of the Hafenstr. Despite the fact that our regular noise sessions require sacrifices from the residents and



not just those whose beds are approximately 180 cm above speakers going at full blast, but also from those whose house entrances and hallways are full of the mobs coming to the gig. Even in the neighboring houses you can hear the concerts, but the residents are always of good cheer and give us lots of helpful support (some of them). We

have not just made an international name for ourselves, we have also had a big impact on the Hamburg music scene. There are for example, agreements with "Red Flora" and the "Factory" regarding dates; and beyond that we are often able to pass bands on to other concert organizers in Hamburg, other cities and countries and so are able sometimes to organize entire tours. It is a Hamburg speciality that music and political scenes are often impossible to keep apart; this fact is reflected in our work and makes it all the more interesting.



THE OPENING OF THE PEOPLES' KITCHEN (PK) AT THE END OF '83. THE PK EXPRESSED OUR NEED TO OPEN UP TO THE OUTSIDE AND OF COURSE OUR DESIRE TO DEVELOP OUR OWN ANTICULTURE AWAY FROM THE COMMERCIAL SHIT

The PK started up as a result of a necessity and gave and gives us lots of room as a house canteen, for meetings, political activities, news and other actions, in other words a place where the dominant concept of culture is opposed, that is based only on Profit, Competition, Atomization. At the time it was a place for many people to meet and get to know each other, etc and it developed so that we organized regular concerts. For many combos there were no or hardly any such possibilities to perform in such a setting in Hamburg, and so the PK soon became a lively stage for performances and gigs for many people. We did not need much advertising and oral propaganda alone was enough to get the PK to fill almost to bursting point. The atmosphere at the concerts was generally characterized by a very high degree of responsibility by the audience, which perhaps was

due to the fact that at the time a lot was said about what we wanted to achieve with such concerts in the end; i.e.: No desire to see drunken and stoned people, who would let out all their aggro at the slightest incident and hassle others, or groups with sexist, racist dominated texts, no competitions while pogoing to the music and music and texts that did not necessarily draw a line between politics and entertainment, or if it did cost anything to get in, then the proceeds went to support the Resistance and other important



things. Ok, on the whole that meant a lot of hassle to get things organized, but also a lot of experiences, contacts, connections and fun. For example, the Zitronen (Lemos) in kids' shoes gig, where nothing went right: the singer broke through the stage, shortly there after the guitarist fell off it and in the end the basist caused lighting with his clamps on the Mercedes star chandelier hanging over the stage. That blacked out the whole place. A lot of great gigs by groups who also had things to say outside of their music program, told us about what was going on in their home towns, read leaflets for demos, etc.

Moreover, the New Year's Resistance days of the Houses was and will hopefully continue to be organized with their nightly culture programs (I remember particularly the legendary concert in the tent with the RamonezRev., Country Duo, Cheetah ChromeMotherf.). Not to forget the wall mural to the Stammheim murders of '77, which came about as a result of our relations to the political prisoners, their history and demands. This wall mural was the object of a morning arson attack on House 116 (Peoples' Kitchen), which was only saved from being completely burnt out by the prompt appearance of the fire brigade. But enough of all the stories. At the beginning of '86 Störtebecker was finished and the concert performances were continued there. The residents of 116 sighed with relief, because in the long run you really had to have nerves of steel to live in such a house and even have to get up early in the mornings for work. As a finale thanks to all the groups and people from Torpedo Moscow, Ramonez Rev. Band, Country Duo, Zitronen, Razzia, Targets, GZW, Substanz, Rest of the Boys, Pissed Boys, Sabotage 81, Derange, Wobagger, KGB, Ceresit, Igel Unitet, Angeschissen, Tincan Army, Inferno, Kina, So(i)lent Green, Contrazione, CCM, Tention, Instigators, Peinlich Unlimited, Alien Boys, Emils, et.al.

FREE FRITZ!
SOLIDARITÄTSKONZERT FÜR
DEN 17.12. ANGEKLAGTEN
FREITAG 2.12.
STÖRTEBECKER ZENTRUM
BERNHARDT NOCHT STRASSE 5
LIVE: C31 HAMBURG
AUS BOLOGNA ITALIA: **IRVIA**
DAZU IM AHOI **HAMBURGER DIAREVOLUTION**

Fugazi
(WASHINGTON DC.)
Gulag
(GRIECHENLAND)
STÖRTEBECKER 2.5.

FEIN FISCH CHOR KONZERT!
22.00 UHR
HAFENSTR. 116
DIE PLATTE
ASSASSINS OF FL...

Ok so don't tell any myths, which is a little difficult as the name of the record begins with the oldest and most legendary myth around here. When I wanted to move in (moving in then took about 1 1/2 years), the Störtebecker was just being built and was planned at that time as the Antifascist Center for St. Pauli. Some time, in December 1985, it was finished and got its baptism of fire in the "New Year days of resistance" as a discussion room, disco and party cellar. There is an abundance of stories, perhaps sometime there will be a "Collected Works of the Hafen Street" published. The struggle for our houses has been going on now for about ten years back and forth and has got more and more surrealistic...

K-LADEN PRESENTS
NOMEANSNO +
MAGNETIC A.D.
6.6.86 21.00Uhr
STÖRTEBECKER
EINTRITT: 5,- DM

STÖRTEBECKER
Verbal Assault
Drowning Rose
PUNKTLICH!!!

We are a group of idealistic and fighting young people, who have been organizing non commercial concerts in the Hafen Str. for a long time now, about 3 1/2 years. The best hardcore bands in the world have stood on our stage and will continue to do so. Now we have put together the best of the countless Live recordings into a highlights, Hafenstr. Live LP. This project expresses our loud Anticulture of many years standing and shows that you can do it different. So we are able to fill the often cardboard cutout term of 'free areas' for once is filled with some substance by our concrete example and so can be understood by outsiders. We regard this project as being an important contribution to our publicity for the Hafenstr. The idea for this initiative has been around for some time in our heads, but the current threatening situation has made NOW the time to do it. The record is meant to be a formal and substantial decoration for the households of all who sympathize with us, our supporters, fellow-activists, fans and the curious. There is an accompanying booklet with the stories and faces of the waterfront and the concerts with lots of pictures, photos, song texts, poems and other contributions from within and outside, especially from the musicians who were with us.

Hi, here is an (incomplete) list of infoshops.

Especially in Germany there are some more infoshops. If you want your infoshop to be added to this or the adress is wrong or no more existing tell us about it. We will publish this list regularly.

Germany:

Umwelt Bibliothek
Schliemannstr. 22
O 1058 Berlin

Infoladen
Kreutzigerstr. 18
O 1035 Berlin

Bandito Rosso
Lottumstr. 10a
O 1053 Berlin

Omega
Sparstr. 21
1000 Berlin 65

Rat & Tat
Liebenwalderstr. 17
1000 Berlin 65

Papiertiger
Library and Archiv
Cuyvrstr. 25
1000 Berlin 36

Infoladen "Bambule"
Schönhauser Allee 20
O 1058 Berlin

Infoladen
Dortusstr. 65
O-1560 Potsdam

Schwarzmarkt
Paulinenstr. 15
2000 Hamburg 36

IL Adelante
im GAL Büro
Hohe Strasse 26
2100 Harburg 90

Autonome Infogruppe
Kiel
Schweffelstr. 6
2300 Kiel

Infoladen Omega
Bahnhofstr. 44
2350 Neumünster

The-Prax, c/o T-Stube
PB 506
2370 Rendsburg

Infoladen Flensburg
Hafermarkt 6
2390 Flensburg

Infoladen Lübeck,
c/o Alternative
Auf der Wallhalbinsel
2400 Lübeck

IL Rostock, Antifa
Zentrum
Doberer Platz
O 2500 Rostock

Infoladen
"Umschlagplatz"
St. Paulistr. 10/11
2800 Bremen

Infoladen Kornstrasse
Kornstrasse 28-30
3000 Hannover 1

Info- und Leseladen
UJZ "Knast"
Bahnhofstr. 34
O 3010 Magdeburg

Infoladen Göttingen
c/o Buchladen
Rotestr. 10
3400 Göttingen

Infoladen
Kellnerstr. 10a
O-4020 Halle/S.

Projektladen
Querbeet
Hubertusstr. 35
4150 Krefeld

Infoladen Bazille
c/o Druckluft
Am Forderturm 27
4200 Oberhausen

Umweltzentrum
Scharnhorstr. 57
4400 Münster

Infoladen "Z"
Alte Münze 12
4500 Osnabrück

Infoladen
Österholzstr. 88
4600 Dortmund 1

Infoladen Anschlag
Heeperstr. 132
4800 Bielefeld

Infoladen Köln
Ludolf Camphausenstr.
36
5000 Köln

Infoladen/
Frauencafe Erfurt
Lasallestr. 57
O 5020 Erfurt

Infocafe
Gerberstr. 1
O-5300 Weimar

Infoladen Bonn
Wolfstr. 10 HH
5300 Bonn 1

Infoladen
Brunnenstr. 41
5600 Wuppertal

Infoladen Offenbach
Frankfurterstr. 63 hh
6050 Offenbach

Infoladen Darmstadt
Frankfurter Str 58
6100 Darmstadt

Infoladen
Werderstr. 8
6200 Wiesbaden

Infoladen
Metzgerstr. 8
6450 Hanau

Infoladen
Metzgerstr. 8
6450 Hanau

Infoladen Jena
Brandströmstr. 6
O 6900 Jena

Infoladen Moskito im AZ
Alte Bergheimerstr. 7a
6900 Heidelberg

Infoladen
Morickestr. 69 hh
7000 Stuttgart/Heslach

Infocafe Leipzig
Ernestinenstr. 9
O 7030 Leipzig

Infoladen Subito
Klarastr. 73
7800 Freiburg

Infoladen
Breisacherstr. 12
8000 München 80

Infoladen Regensburg
Engelburgergasse 6
8500 Regensburg

Infoladen "Schlagloch"
Kamenzerstr. 17 HH
O 8060 Dresden

Infoladen
Konr. Adenauer Allee 21
8900 Augsburg

The Netherlands:

Infoshop Gron
Steentilstraat 38
Mail: PB 2107
Groningen

Infowinkel Assata
Tweede Walstraat 21
6511 LN Nijmegen

De Invalshoek
Koppenhinksteeg 2
2312 HX Leiden

Infowinkel Phoenix
Stieltjesstraat 38
3071 JX Rotterdam

Italy:

Radio Sherwood
Vicolo Pontecorvo 1a
35 100 Padova

Radio Onda Rossa
Via dei Volsci 56
00 100 Roma

Radio Onda d'Urto
Contrada Carmine 16
25 121 Brescia

Centro Sociale
Leoncavallo
Via Leoncavallo 22
20 100 Milano

Centro Informazione
Internazionale
Via Tagliapietre 8/B
Bologna

Centro Sociale
Gramigna
Via Monta 100
Padua

C. Di Comunicazione
Antagoni
Via Avesella 5/B
40 100 Bologna

Austria:

Infoladen Wien
Margaretenurgel 122-
124/1/K
A-1050 Wien

Infoladen Linz
Kapu/Keller
Kapuzinerstr. 36
4020 Linz

Infoladen Graz
Schillerstr. 7/19
8010 Graz

Denmark:

Autonomt Info
Elmegade 27
2200 Copenhagen N

Cafe Usmalia,
Ungdomshuset
Jagtvej 69
2200 Copenhagen N

Norway:

Blitz Infoshop
Pilestredet 30c
0164 Oslo 1

UFFA-Info
Innhærredsvn. 69c
7002 Trondheim

Sweden:

Bokhandeln Info
Hornsgatan 151
117 34 Stockholm

Wapiti
Killiansg. 15
S-222 21 Lund

Barrikaden (Newspaper)
Box 7539
200 42 Malmö

England:

56 A Infoshop
56 a Crampton Road
London SE 17

TSDC, London ABC
121 Railton Road
London SE24

Anti-Fascist Action
BM Box 1734
London WC1 N3XX

Ha Ha-
The Nevill Arms
Nevill Road
Stoke Newington,
London W16

Switzerland:

Autonome
Volxbibliothek
Reitschule,
Neubruckstrasse 8
3012 Bern

Infoladen-Cafe Kasama
Backerstrasse 51
CH-8004 Zürich

Euskadi:

Urtoki Kolektiboa
Apdo. 1453
San Sebastian
(Gipuzkoa)
Spain

Spain:

Lokal
Calle de la Cera 2
Barcelona

France:

M.A.B. Printing
37, Rue Bordeau
69 001 Lyon
(temporary address!)